

A SURVEY OF THE
SOCIAL SERVICES
IN THE
OXFORD DISTRICT

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A SURVEY OF THE
SOCIAL SERVICES
IN THE
OXFORD DISTRICT

I
ECONOMICS AND GOVERNMENT
OF A
CHANGING AREA

BARNETT HOUSE SURVEY COMMITTEE

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BARNETT HOUSE, OXFORD

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FOREWORD

THE Survey Committee of Barnett House is responsible for planning and co-ordinating the various sections of this volume, and the writers mentioned on page ix are responsible individually for the separate chapters to which they have given their names. They have, in many cases, been helped in the collection and presentation of material by the Research Assistant, Miss E. Ackroyd. The central organization of the Survey has been financed by a grant made by the University from the Rockefeller Benefaction for the development of Social Studies.

The Committee wishes to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have generously given their time and skill to the production of this volume. It is especially grateful to the authors of the separate chapters. But besides these authors a very large number of people have co-operated who cannot be named personally; some have contributed information or submitted to a questionnaire, some have assisted in the collection and arrangement of material, and some have given the organizers of the Survey the benefit of their judgement; to all these the Committee and, more particularly, the Editor wish to express very sincere thanks.

A. F. C. B.

PREFACE

THIS Survey is a study of the Social Services both statutory and voluntary in Oxford and the area adjacent to it. It will be completed in three volumes. The present volume is intended to give a picture of the economic tendencies of the district and of the administrative structure now in existence. A second volume will deal with the working of the individual Social Services, and a third and shorter volume will review the significance of the previous studies as a whole.

One advance section, completed out of its due order for special reasons, by Dame Ellen Pinsent, has already been published; it is entitled *The Mental Health Services in Oxford City, Oxfordshire and Berkshire* (published by Barnett House, 2s. net).

THE SURVEY AREA

THE boundaries of the area selected for this Survey do not coincide with any single existing area of local government administration. In choosing the area the principle has been followed of including such complete parishes as appear to be within Oxford's sphere of influence and which lie within eight to ten miles of the city. Didcot, for instance, although barely ten miles from Oxford, was excluded on the grounds that it had a quite independent existence and that, in the social and economic sense, Reading rather than Oxford was its magnet.

Twenty-four of the parishes lie in Berkshire and forty-two in Oxfordshire. All those in Berkshire are within the rural district of Abingdon. Of those in Oxfordshire twenty-four form part of the rural district of Bullingdon, nine lie in Ploughley Rural District, seven in Witney Rural District, and two in Chipping Norton Rural District. The Survey Area also covers the whole of the county borough of Oxford and the municipal boroughs of Abingdon and Woodstock. A full list of the parishes is given in Appendix II.

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PART I. INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY¹

THE fundamental object of the Oxford Survey is to study the social and administrative implications of the industrial changes now in progress in one small district. An industrial revolution is being analysed while it is actually in progress.

The Survey as a whole has a particular claim to attention, since industry in this district is rapidly laying her heavy hands not only upon a part of rural England which has remained almost unchanged for many centuries, but also upon one of the fairest of European cities. The changes of the post-war period have had an immense effect on the life of the three communities of the city, the university, and the surrounding rural area. The interest of the Survey is not, however, a purely local one, because changes similar to those which are taking place in and around Oxford can be observed in many other parts of southern England. This industrial development is sometimes described as the 'southward' movement of industry, but in actual fact very few factories have been transferred from the north to the south. The establishment of new industries rather than the movement of old ones has been the keynote of recent industrial growth in the south of England. In a valuable paper Professor C. B. Fawcett has shown that the areas which had the greatest increases of population (over double the national rate) in England during the period 1921-31 were the midlands and the south-east. According to this author the fourteen south-eastern counties 'together absorbed more than 55 per cent. of the total net increase of population in Great Britain'² during the ten years. Oxfordshire and Berkshire are included in this group of counties, and within the area covered by the group as a whole the growth of the Oxford region is perhaps the most remarkable. During the period 1921-31 the percentage increase of the population of the city of Oxford was 19.7, which is a higher rate of increase than any other 'conurbation' in Great Britain except Bournemouth, with Poole and Christchurch (24.9 per cent.),

¹ The writer of this chapter is especially indebted to the following of his colleagues in the Oxford School of Geography, Mr. J. N. L. Baker, Mr. C. F. W. R. Gullick, and Mr. C. C. Carter, for reading the manuscript and for making many useful suggestions.

² C. B. Fawcett, 'Distribution of Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931'. *Geographical Journal*, lxxix (1932), p. 109.

and Watford (22.7 per cent.). In studying the Oxford district we are drawing attention to problems which are widespread in different parts of the south of England, and are possibly more acute at Oxford than elsewhere.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to show some of the close links which exist between the physical geography of the district and its development by man. The boundaries of the Survey Area have already been described.¹ The district which is being studied lies roughly within an eight-mile radius of the centre of Oxford and covers in all about 195.6 square miles, but in this chapter it will not be sufficient to examine this small area alone. The Area must first be considered in relation to the wider geographical region in which it is situated.²

The wider geographical region surrounding the Survey Area.

If a line be drawn across England from the mouth of the Tees to the mouth of the Exe, it will be found that the land south and east of the line is comparatively low-lying. The more mountainous and hilly regions of Britain are all situated in the west and north-west of the country. The south-eastern plain of England is composed of rocks which are younger and softer than those which make up the hills of the west. This English Lowland can, in a sense, be regarded as a detached portion of the Great Plain of continental Europe, which stretches eastward from Paris to the Ural Mountains. The physical characteristics of the region covered by the Oxford Survey are similar to those of the rest of the English Lowland of which the Survey Area forms but a small fraction.

It must not be imagined that the plain of England is free from relief, as it includes considerable portions whose altitude exceeds 600 feet. Within the Survey Area itself the highest point is on Shot-over Hill, 562 feet above sea-level. A traveller who makes a journey north-westward by road from London to Birmingham may be impressed by the fact that his route takes him up a series of gradual rises, each of which suddenly terminates with a steep drop to a plain from which another gentle rise eventually begins. The first of these slopes is the chalk scarp known as the Chilterns, which is continued

¹ See p. viii above.

² The following works, which have been consulted in the preparation of certain parts of this chapter, will be found useful by any student of the geography of the Oxford region: W. R. Davidge, *Berkshire Regional Planning Survey* (1930); Mayo, S. D. Adshead, and P. Abercrombie, *Oxfordshire, A Regional Survey* (1931); Mayo and others, *The Thames Valley from Cricklade to Staines, A Survey* (1929); A. J. Herbertson, 'On the One-inch Ordnance Survey Map, with special reference to the Oxford sheet', *Geographical Teacher*, i (1902), pp. 150-66 (this is a description of sheet 236 of the old small-sheet series).

westwards from the Goring gap by the Berkshire Downs, while the second similar region is the limestone scarp of the Cotswolds which is continued north-eastwards by the North Oxfordshire Hills (Fig. 1). Both of these ridges present steep faces towards the north and north-west; both of them rise from 300 to between 800 and 1,000 feet in height. Between these two major regions lies a great trough, mainly between 200 and 300 feet in height and composed of a series of clay vales which extend in a north-east to south-west direction, from the edge of the Fenland to the divide between the Thames and the Bristol Avon. The two main scarps are not the only areas of high relief. Several minor scarps present the same features, namely, a gradual rise from the south and a steep drop to the north. The great vale between the Chilterns and the Cotswolds is virtually bisected by a series of hills, which run parallel with the direction taken by the greater scarps. These hills, which are generally called the Oxford Heights, cross the Survey Area from west to east (Fig. 1).

Geographers have sometimes drawn up theoretical schemes for the complete reorganization of the administrative boundaries of England. In these plans, large units, or 'provinces' as they are called, are substituted for the ancient county divisions. Professor C. B. Fawcett once elaborated such a plan, in which he adopted 'Central England' as one of his new provinces.¹ This region was made to occupy 'the central district of the English Lowland' and included '(1) the Upper Thames, or Oxford Basin in the centre and west of the province, (2) the valleys of the Rivers Nene and Ouse above the Fenland in the north-east, and (3) the valley of the Kennet and a small part of the Thames valley about Reading in the south'.² Oxford was selected as the capital of the proposed administrative unit of 'Central England'. By including the Kennet valley Professor Fawcett probably extended Oxford's range too far south, but Oxford is geographically the regional capital of a wider area than that selected for this Survey.

Geology and drainage.

The core of the region of which Oxford is the natural capital is a lowland, about fifteen to twenty miles wide, lying between the gradual slope up to the Cotswolds and North Oxfordshire Hills on the north, and the rampart of the Berkshire Downs and the Chilterns

¹ C. B. Fawcett, 'Natural Divisions of England', *Geographical Journal*, xlix (1917), pp. 125-41. The paper was amplified and revised in the same author's *Provinces of England. A Study of Some Geographical Aspects of Devolution* (1919).

² Fawcett, *Provinces of England*, op. cit., pp. 209-10.

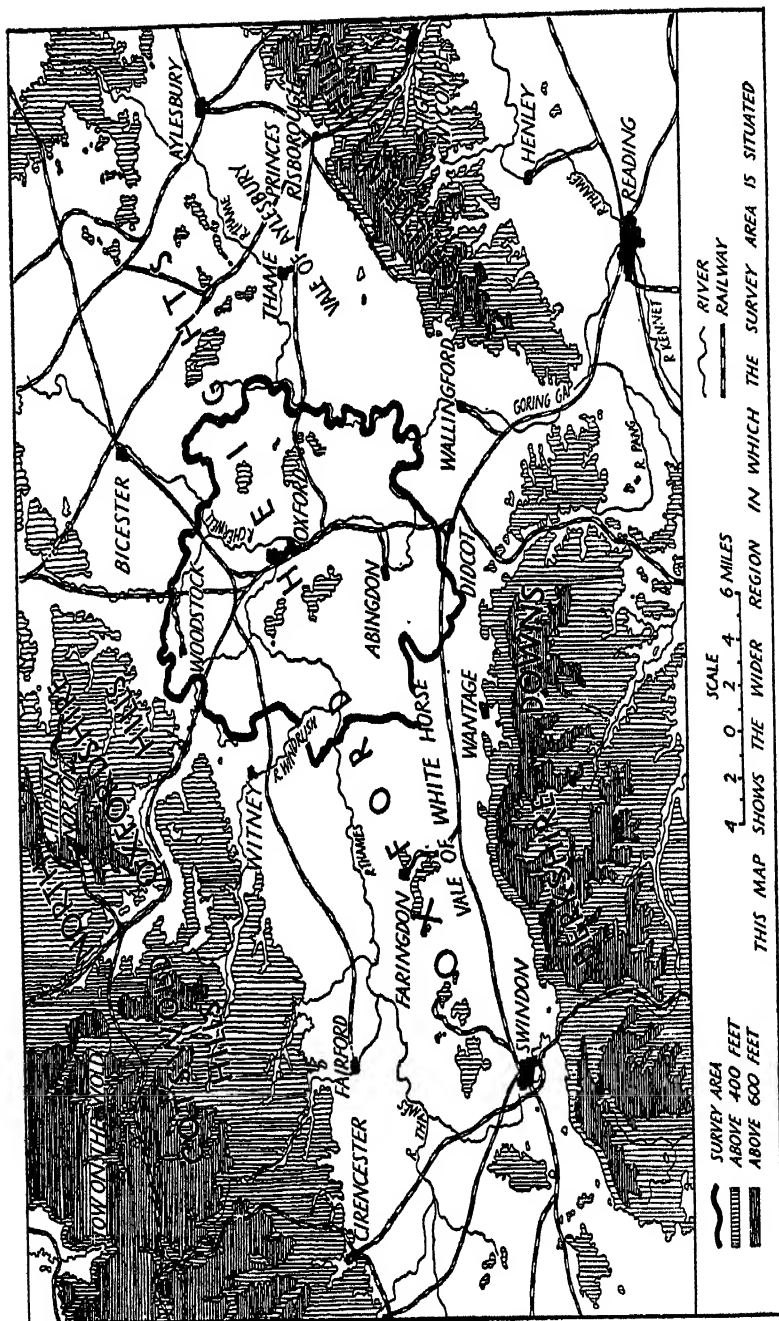


FIG. 1. The South-east Midlands.

on the south and south-east. The Survey Area forms a part of this region and its relief must now be described (see Figs. 2 and 3). Comparatively small sections of the Area rise over 300 feet above sea-level. The most important of them are those which form a part of the

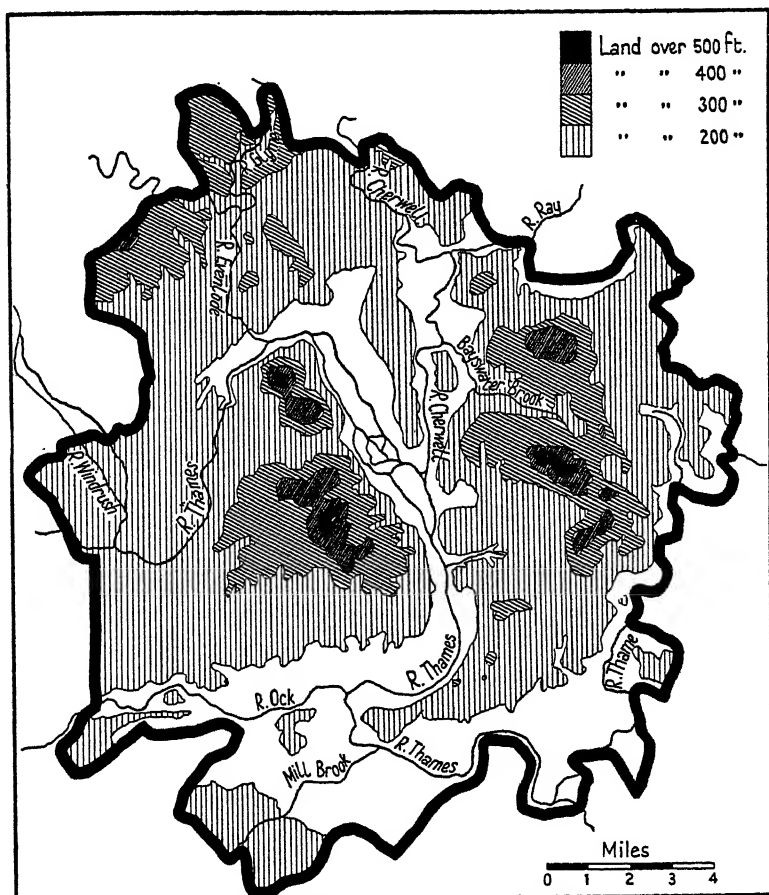


FIG. 2. The Relief and Drainage of the Area.

Oxford Heights. Within the Survey Area these hills almost surround the city of Oxford. Wytham Hill, Cumnor, and Boars Hill are on the west side of the Thames; Stowood, Shotover, and Garsington Hills lie on the east of the river. On both groups of hills small patches exceed 400 and even 500 feet in altitude. This somewhat discontinuous line of heights separates two vales. On the north the Oxford Clay vale extends as far as the Cotswolds and the North

Oxfordshire Hills, while on the south a part of the clay plain which forms the Vale of the White Horse and the Vale of Aylesbury comes within the Area. Both the clay plains are roughly between 200 and 300 feet above sea-level.

From the geological point of view the rocks get younger from the north to the south of the Area. In the north round Woodstock and Bladon, oolitic limestone rocks are found. A very small portion of the 'Cotswold' type of country with its characteristic scenery and domestic architecture is therefore to be found within the Survey Area. South of this region is the belt of Oxford Clay, about five miles in width, a region of gently undulating ground. Next comes the Corallian escarpment of the Oxford Heights, with its steep face on the north. The whole of the latter region is above 300 feet and is composed of a limestone, less resistant than that of the Cotswolds, and of sands. To the south of the Corallian hills is a clay vale composed first of Kimeridge and then of Gault. The last deposit is found in the extreme south of the Area, roughly south of a line from Steventon to Stadhampton.

Geologically, therefore, the Area consists of a number of narrow strips which run from south-west to north-east and divide it lengthwise (Fig. 3). The whole Area is further divided crosswise by the depression formed by the lower Cherwell and continued by the Thames, after the latter river has made its great south-easterly bend above Oxford. This north-to-south line divides the Survey Area into two almost equal parts. In the Oxford Clay vale the upper Thames, locally known as the Isis, swings about in a general west-to-east direction, and is joined by a number of tributaries which gather up the water from the large Cotswold region on the north. Within the Survey Area itself the Thames is joined by three important Cotswold tributaries. The Windrush meets the main stream near Standlake, the Evenlode after uniting with the Glyme near Bladon joins the Thames near Eynsham. At Oxford the Thames meets the Cherwell and then follows the direction of its tributary.¹ The main stream, having received all its 'Cotswold' tributaries, then breaks through the Corallian escarpment by what is, in fact, a narrow gap at Sandford. The tributaries which have drained the clay vales that lie south of the Oxford Heights, then join the Thames. The Ock, which flows along the vale of Kimeridge clay, meets the Thames at Abingdon, and the Mill Brook joins the main stream at Sutton Courtenay

¹ The actual junction of the two rivers is at the barges, below Folly Bridge, but they are also united by the artificial 'New Cut'. The latter channel was made after the great floods of 1882.

after passing over the Gault clay lowland. The last important tributary to join the Thames within the Survey Area is the Thame, which meets the main river at Dorchester. The sources of the Thame are in the Vale of Aylesbury and the river has therefore drained the lowland which lies at the foot of the Chilterns. For a considerable part of its course the Thame forms the eastern boundary of the Survey Area.

A noteworthy feature of the drainage of the Survey Area is the absence of rivers in the Corallian region. With the exception of the main stream of the Thames, the only rivers to be found in this part of the Area are small brooks. The most notable, perhaps, is the Bayswater Brook, which runs down the north side of the escarpment of Shotover Hill, and proceeds, therefore, in a direction contrary to the main flow of drainage within the Area.

The superficial deposits of alluvium and river gravel must now be considered, as their distribution is of great human significance in the Survey Area. Above Sandford both the Thames and the Cherwell flow in broad valleys of river alluvium. From Standlake to Botley the alluvial valley of the Thames is between one and one-and-a-half miles wide, and the Cherwell valley is of similar breadth. The area covered by alluvium in the Survey Area is therefore quite large, and as all this ground is only barely above the normal level of the rivers, it is subject to flooding after periods of heavy rain. This land consists of strips of flat meadowland and is naturally uninhabited. The great extent of the land that is liable to flood is remarkable, and the floods of the winter months are often spectacular. The alluvial valley of the Thames narrows towards the funnel-shaped gap at Sandford, where it is barely a quarter of a mile wide. This pinching of the main stream is apt to hold up the water in the upper reaches and thus to cause flooding.

Above the alluvium are gravel deposits, laid down at different levels, at successive periods in the history of the rivers.¹ These deposits, or 'terraces' as they are called, are found at similar levels above the banks of the rivers at different parts of their courses. The gravels immediately above the alluvium 'form in some places a terrace 5 to 10 feet above the level of the flood; but locally patches occur, surrounded by alluvium, and within the tract of the floods . . . it is usually separated from the higher Summertown-Radley terrace by a marked clay step along which springs often arise'.² The second

¹ For a full account of these gravels see K. S. Sandford, 'The River-Gravels of the Oxford District', *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, lxxx (1924), pp. 113-79.

² J. Pringle (ed.), *The Geology of the Country around Oxford*, Memoir of the Geological Survey, 2nd ed. (1926), p. 141.

or Summertown-Radley terrace ranges from about 12 to 20 feet above the present normal level of the river. This terrace is of great human importance within the Survey Area, as it is well above the floods. The gravel provided a good water-supply for the early settlers, and upon this terrace the original Oxford and most of the villages of the upper Thames valley were established. The third or Wolvercote terrace is about 50 feet above the river and is found at Wolvercote and Blenheim Park. The fourth or Handborough terrace is from 70 to 100 feet above the river and extends from Long Handborough to Church Handborough.¹

Climate.

The Survey Area is so small that it is impossible to assign any individuality to its climate;² it forms part of the midland climatic region of England. The mean monthly temperature of Oxford ranges between 38.7° F. in January and 61.4° F. in July. Such conditions are temperate and largely due to the maritime influence which affects the whole of north-western Europe. The average annual rainfall of the Survey Area is between 25 inches and 27.5 inches. At Oxford, whose mean annual fall is 26.02 inches, the lowest figure recorded in any year was 18 inches and the highest over 32 inches. These rainfall conditions are typical of the drier eastern side of Britain which lies in the lee of the western mountains in relation to the rain-bearing westerly winds. The figures of this lowland region should be compared with an average fall of between 35 and 40 inches on the highest parts of the Cotswolds and an average of 30 inches on the Chilterns. October and July, with average annual falls of 2.9 inches and 2.6 inches respectively, are the wettest months, while February, with 1.6 inches, is the driest month. Spring is certainly the driest season, but broadly speaking the rainfall is very evenly distributed throughout the year.

The amount of fog and the direction of the winds are of interest in the Survey Area. The clay lowlands, the lower gravel terraces, and the wide alluvial bottoms with their numerous braided streams and frequent floods often have a sub-saturated atmosphere. They are

¹ In addition to the works of J. Pringle and of K. S. Sandford, both of which are quoted above, the student of the physical geography of the Oxford region should consult the following: J. J. Walker (ed.), *The Natural History of the Oxford District* (1926), chapters on 'Physiography' by H. O. Beckit, pp. 1-20, and on 'Geology' by W. J. Sollas, K. S. Sandford, and W. J. Arkell, pp. 32-71; A. G. Ogilvie (ed.), *Great Britain* (1928), chapter on 'The South-East Midlands', by H. O. Beckit, pp. 125-42.

² This brief note is based on W. G. Kendrew's essay on 'Climate' in J. J. Walker (ed.), *The Natural History of the Oxford District* (1926), pp. 21-5.

therefore peculiarly subject to fogs, especially during the winter and autumn. Mists and fogs rise from the damp or water-logged land and often cause considerable hindrance to traffic. In the oldest part of Oxford, round Carfax, there is more clay in the gravel than in Summertown, and it has been suggested that this has been an additional cause of fog.¹ The summer heat can also be very relaxing in the damp lowlands. Thus the climate of Oxford is particularly enervating, and should be contrasted with the climate of the Oxford Heights which rise above the fogs of winter and the damp heat of summer. Within the Survey Area north-east and east winds are very frequent, especially during the spring, the driest season. These cold, dry winds have no real obstacle when they sweep south-westwards along the lowland between the Cotswolds and the Chilterns, as the low Oxford Heights provide little shelter against their piercing blasts.

Natural vegetation.

The whole of the Survey Area was originally a woodland. Before any clearing was attempted, the lower land was probably a swamp-forest, and above it were the wooded hills. Ever since the time of the English settlement the clearing of the woodland has been steadily carried out. The English settlers established hamlets in the clearings which they made in the woodland, and such hamlets were the forerunners of most of the villages in the Survey Area of to-day. In spite of the progressive destruction of the woodland, it is probable that even as late as the sixteenth century a continuous wooded belt extended from Wytham to Abingdon on the hills west of Oxford. On the east also, the woodland which existed in the Shotover-Garsington district must have been still quite considerable. At the present day only small remnants of woodland remain in the Survey Area, although the Boars Hill-Wytham portion of the Corallian still carries a high percentage of wooded country.² The greater part of the land has been cleared and is given over to agriculture, an industry which is fully described in a later chapter.³

The villages.

Although the limitations of space do not permit a detailed study of the sites of the village settlements, a few observations must be made on this subject before we proceed to examine the urban settle-

¹ J. Pringle (ed.), *Geology of the Country around Oxford*, op. cit., p. 131.

² For a full description of the natural vegetation of the Area, see A. H. Church, *Introduction to the Plant Life of the Oxford District* (1922).

³ Chapter VIII.

ments of the Survey Area. The late H. O. Beckit, writing in 1928, described the district round Oxford as 'a surviving fragment of an England of the past' and claimed that it had 'retained more of the character of the England anterior to the Industrial Revolution than the regions adjoining',¹ while F. W. Maitland in his *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897) selected the district lying south-east of Wallingford and as far as the Chilterns as the land that was still most typical of the nucleated villages established by Germanic settlers in England. Much of Maitland's region lies outside the Survey Area, but conditions within it are similar.

The village settlements are scattered fairly evenly over the whole Area, each one being rarely more than a mile or two away from its neighbour. In spite of the fact that many of the villages are going through a period of rapid change, as they become satellites of the growing city of Oxford, there are still a large number of settlements which have seen little change or growth for several hundred years.²

Several types of site may be distinguished, each type depending largely on the question of the water-supply. It will be noticed that there is very little settlement actually on the banks of the Thames itself. The only villages built on alluvium are Water Eaton and Hampton Poyle in the Cherwell valley.

Many villages are found on the gravel terraces that rise just above the alluvial plain, and are, therefore, out of the reach of the floods. These gravels support a large rural population as well as the principal towns of the Area. The following villages are all built on patches of river gravel above the alluvial valley of the Thames: Standlake, Northmoor, Stanton Harcourt, Eynsham, Cassington, Yarnton, Binsey, South Hinksey, Radley, Sutton Courtenay, and Appleford. Church Handborough and Long Handborough are on the gravel of the fourth terrace above the Evenlode valley. Kidlington and Marston churches are built on small patches of gravel above the Cherwell. Waterperry, Drayton St. Leonard, a part of Stadhampton, and Dorchester have similar gravel sites in the valley of the Thame. The largest of all these places are those which command the junction of a tributary valley with the main stream. Oxford and Abingdon

¹ H. O. Beckit, *Great Britain. Essays in Regional Geography*, A. G. Ogilvie (ed.) (1928), p. 142.

² The following references will be found useful on this subject: J. J. Walker (ed.), *The Natural History of the Oxford District* (1926), pp. 29-30; H. O. Beckit on 'Modern Settlement'; K. S. Sandford, 'Notes on the Situations of Settlements in the country around Oxford with relation to Water Supply', *Transactions of the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies* (1936), pp. 77-8; J. Stephenson, *The Land of Britain, Part 78, Berkshire* (1936), pp. 69-76, on 'The Distribution of Settlements and Population'.

stand at points where the Thames is joined by the Cherwell and the Ock respectively. Of the villages, Eynsham, which is one of the largest, is placed near the junction of the Thames and the Evenlode. This village also commands one of the few bridges over the Thames. Similarly the historic village of Dorchester is placed at the junction of the Thame with the Thames and stands near a useful crossing of the smaller river.

As a whole, the Oxford Clay is devoid of village settlements, but the villages of Noke, Woodeaton, Wytham, Begbroke, Horton-cum-Studley, and North Hinksey are all on this formation just above the river alluvium.

There is no line of village settlements at the northern foot of the Corallian outcrop, but many villages are situated on the Corallian itself well above the Clay. The following may be classed together in this group: Fyfield, Tubney, Kingston Bagpuize, Appleton with Eaton, Cumnor, Besselsleigh, Frilford, Marcham, Sandford, Littlemore, Cowley, Headington, Headington Quarry, Elsfield, Beckley, Stanton St. John, Forest Hill, Wheatley, and Holton.

Around Shotover and the Garsington Hills we find that a number of villages are placed near the junction of the upper Portland beds and the Kimeridge clay, as, for example, Cuddesdon, Denton, Garsington, Horspath, and some distance farther south, Toot Baldon and Nuneham Courtenay are similarly placed. Wootton and Sunningwell occupy the same kind of site on the Berkshire side of the Thames. The whole of this group of villages, as well as many of those listed in the previous group on the Corallian, has the advantage of being placed near the junction of two geological formations. This fact means that different soils are found in the same parish and possibilities of varied agriculture are offered.

The site of Oxford.

Oxford (long. $1^{\circ}16'$ W. of Greenwich, lat. $51^{\circ}49'$ N.) is not only the dominant urban settlement of the Survey Area itself; it is also one of the greatest towns in southern England. Outside Greater London and south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Severn to the Wash, Oxford is considerably surpassed in size by nine urban areas. Three other additional places are larger, but by only a small margin.¹

¹ The order and size in thousands of the 'conurbations' south of the Severn-Wash line in 1931 were as follows: (1) Bristol, 421; (2) Portsmouth, 296; (3) Brighton, 218; (4) Plymouth, 208; (5) Southampton, 194; (6) Bournemouth, 183; (7) Medway towns, 135; (8) Southend, 127; (9) Norwich, 126; (10) Reading, 97; (11) Northampton, 92; (12) Ipswich, 88; (13) OXFORD, 81. The following 'conurbations' south of the Severn-Wash line are the only others which exceeded 50,000: (14) Bath, 69; (15) Luton, 69;

The site of the city of Oxford and the influence of topography upon its growth must now be discussed¹ (see Figs. 4 and 5). The most important of the river terraces within the Survey Area is the great terrace or pebble-ridge which stretches north to south between the Thames and the Cherwell. The length of this terrace is over two miles from Carfax to Summertown, and its average width is three-quarters of a mile. This bed of gravel is between 10 and 30 feet in depth and rests on Oxford Clay, whose surface is uneven. The base of the gravel is reached about half-way down St. Aldate's. The 200-foot contour roughly outlines the extent of the terrace, which rises to a level of 210 feet and is therefore about 25 feet above the normal level of the Thames. The top of the gravel forms a wide platform of an almost uniform level from Summertown to the north of Cornmarket Street. Carfax is a little higher and may have been raised artificially. On both sides the terrace slopes down gently to the rivers. Modern Oxford reflects in a curious way these fundamental facts of its topography. At the present time several of the poorer residential quarters of the city are placed between the 190- and the 200-foot contours. The lowest slopes of the second terrace and the whole of the first terrace, which exists to the south and south-west of the original town, have been given up to the dwellings of the poorer classes. Walton Street runs more or less along the 200-foot contour, which acts almost as a social dividing line. The whole of the St. Aldate's district is also below the 200-foot contour and is for the most part on the first terrace. From the earliest times the great second terrace must have been well-drained ground and reasonably free from dense vegetation, thus forming a suitable place for settlement. Water could easily be obtained from the gravel by sinking wells down to the impervious clay. These factors were great natural advantages, but the additional benefit of protection against possible enemies was given to the site. The southern tip of the terrace was surrounded by water on all sides except the north. On the south the main channel of the Thames, on the west the numerous branches of the same river, and on the east the Cherwell made the terrace almost an island. During a time of flood at the present day,

(16) Cambridge, 67; (17) Exeter, 66; (18) Hastings, 65; (19) Torquay, 65; (20) Swindon, 62; (21) Eastbourne, 57; (22) Watford, 57; (23) Great Yarmouth, 57; (24) Gloucester, 53. It will be noticed that, in each case, these places are smaller than Oxford by more than 10,000 persons. The figures of the size of the 'conurbations' are those given by Professor C. B. Fawcett in 'Distribution of the Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931', *Geographical Journal*, lxxix (1932), pp. 101-16.

¹ See H. O. Beckit, 'The Site and Growth of Oxford', *Report of the Meeting of the British Association at Oxford* (1926), pp. 270-1. This is a brief abstract of an address that was never published in full.

THE GEOLOGY OF OXFORD

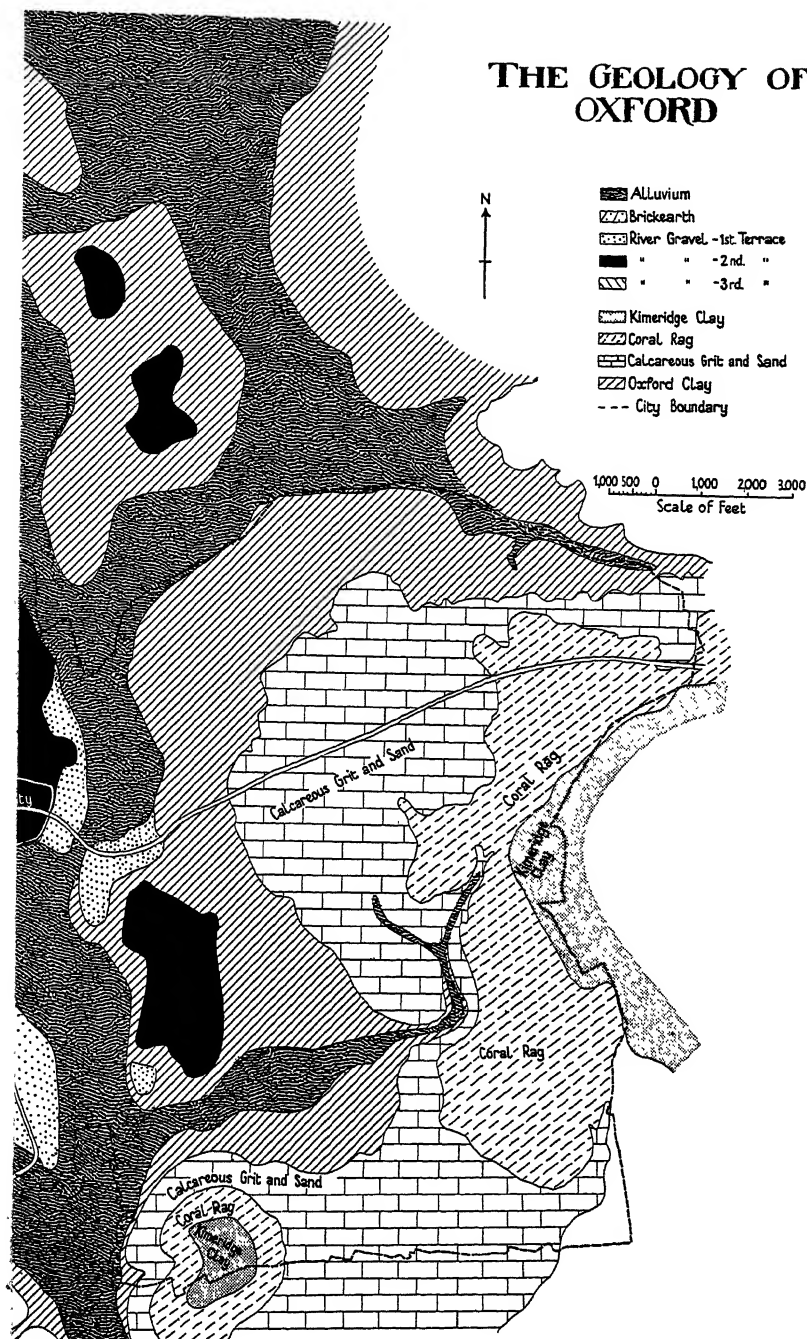


FIG. 4

the old city of Oxford stands out as an island in a great lake which extends north-west for three or four miles and north-east along the Cherwell. The medieval walled city, protected by its Norman Castle, was built on the southern end of the terrace (as is shown in Fig. 4),¹ which thus provided the nucleus from which the modern town was to grow. Parts of this well-protected site had been settled in pre-historic times, and although the ground now occupied by Oxford appears to have been of no importance in the Romano-British period, the Saxon settlement of Oxford had become a town of considerable significance by the time of Domesday Book.

Oxford is placed at a sufficient distance from London to be able to dominate the region which surrounds it, a region which, like the town, was entirely non-industrial until a very recent date. Oxford certainly has a favourable geographical position in the south of England as a whole, but it was for a long time merely one among several towns that had been established near the banks of the Thames. Places such as Reading, Wallingford, and Abingdon were, like Oxford, important as market centres or road stations. Owing to the growth of a university, which became one of the most famous in Europe, Oxford eventually surpassed the other Thames-side towns in fame, if not in size. Yet by the year 1789 its population was only 8,300, and the buildings of the city had not spread far beyond the medieval walls.

The growth of Oxford.

The late Professor Haverfield said that 'it is often the greatest of the Fates, our Mother Earth that orders the rise and fall of cities'.² The case of Oxford is an example of this, for the growth of the town as well as its foundation has been closely conditioned by geographical facts, and its expansion from the original cramped site at the southern tip of the gravel terrace must now be considered. The great terrace itself formed an area suitable for a northward expansion. Other distinct areas of gravel are to be found on the eastern bank of the Cherwell and on the southern bank of the Thames. On the eastern side of the Cherwell, across Magdalen Bridge, a gravel terrace extends for nearly a mile towards Iffley. A little distance

¹ Until quite recent times the lower parts of the town outside the city walls were often subject to flooding. For instance, St. Thomas's Church was regularly flooded and services could not be held. The level of the floor of the church was raised some 3 feet in 1825. See T. W. Squires (ed.), *In West Oxford* (1928), pp. 13, 15, 16, 142, and 169.

² F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, revised by Sir G. Macdonald (1924), p. 96.

south of Folly Bridge, where gravel of the first terrace is found on both sides of the river, there is another patch of gravel on which New Hinksey has been built.

We must remember that the present boundaries of the city include not only the low-lying valleys of the rivers, but also some parts of the Oxford Heights. On favourable sites in these heights villages have long been established. The churches of Old Headington, Cowley, and Iffley are all built on the calcareous grit of the Corallian, a formation which lies immediately above the Oxford Clay. In the north the villages of Upper and Lower Wolvercote were placed on gravel terraces above the eastern side of the alluvial plain of the Thames. All these village settlements have been gradually absorbed by Oxford, as she has grown outwards from her ancient nucleus along the main roads from Carfax. Figure 5, which has been compiled from the several editions of the 6-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey, illustrates the expansion of the built-up area of the town in modern times. By 1879 Oxford had advanced northwards, roughly as far as the Canterbury and Farndon Roads. The real 'North Oxford' had been born. Between the two roads named and the small and distinct settlement of Summertown there was about a mile of open country in 1879. Across Magdalen Bridge the built-up area had reached outwards along the Iffley and Cowley Roads as far as Leopold Street and Henley Street. South of Folly Bridge the buildings of New Hinksey had come into existence, and westwards the city had grown on to the alluvium towards the railway stations and Botley. Headington, New Headington, Headington Quarry, Temple Cowley, Cowley, Iffley, Summertown, Upper Wolvercote, and Lower Wolvercote were all small and reasonably compact villages. The Cowley Barracks stood out in splendid isolation in the country.

By 1919, after a period of forty years, the map shows that considerable development had taken place, especially on the gravel terraces. Northwards, a greatly enlarged Summertown had been united with the main built-up area of North Oxford. There had been much building activity along the Abingdon Road, while the gravel patches east and south-east of Magdalen Bridge had been built over. New Headington had shown considerable growth, but the expansion of the Cowleys had not been so great. The Wolvercotes remained in 1919 much as they had been for centuries past.

It is clear from the map that between 1919 and 1936, the post-war era, the increase in the built-up area was greater than in the previous forty years. The principal area of expansion has been between Iffley and Cowley Barracks. Here the great suburb of Cowley now exists,

THE GROWTH OF OXFORD

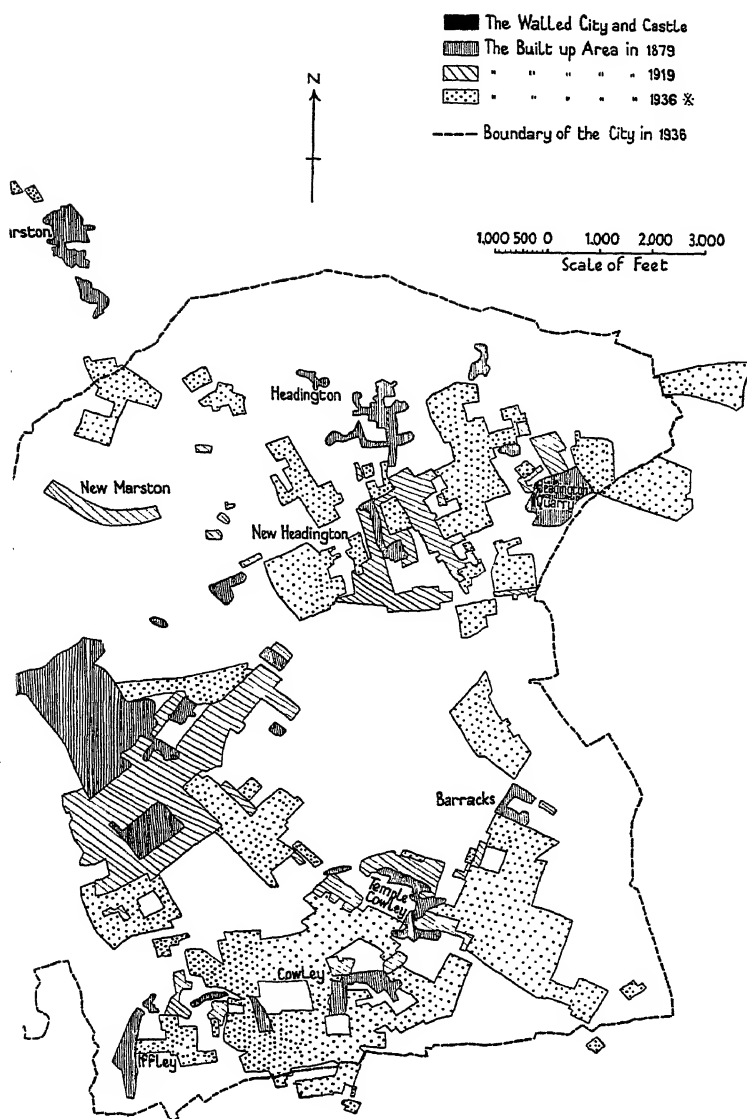


FIG. 5

It in the period 1919-36 is based on information kindly
 provided by the City Engineer.

still separated to some degree from the suburb that extends from Magdalen Bridge along the Cowley and Iffley Roads (St. Clement's), by the belt of Oxford Clay (cf. Figs. 4 and 5). The three Headingtons have been virtually amalgamated and form a separate built-up area. Thus, on the east of the Cherwell, Oxford now possesses the three main suburbs of Headington, Cowley, and St. Clement's, which are being rapidly joined to each other. Extensive building operations have taken place north of Summertown, so that a new suburb has enveloped the Wolvercotes and is now contiguous with Summertown and North Oxford.

The suburbs of Oxford are not confined to the area within the city boundaries. The development of land for building immediately outside these boundaries has been taking place in several directions. The most important area is that situated west of Botley, where building has rapidly covered the slopes of Cumnor Hill. Further, there has been much building round Littlemore, in the district east of Headington Quarry, and also along the Marston Road towards Old Marston. The growth of new suburbs such as these, just outside the boundaries of a city or borough, raises many important administrative difficulties.

Owing to the fact that it has been generally impossible to build on the alluvium, the modern city of Oxford has a somewhat odd shape. Figure 5 shows the extraordinary way in which Oxford is divided into sections by the valleys of the rivers. The lack of bridges results in some curious difficulties of transport. A journey by car from Iffley to New Hinksey, both places within the city, and about one mile apart as the crow flies, involves a route of three miles. The new by-pass road on the north has made communication between Headington and Summertown considerably easier than in the past.

The nodality of Oxford.

(1) *Rivers and canals.* Oxford is a very convenient centre for communications of all kinds, and this natural nodality has facilitated its recent growth. The city is situated at about the same distance (60-70 miles) from the three ports of London, Bristol, and Southampton, and from the industrial area of Birmingham. It has, therefore, a central position, not only in the upper Thames basin, but also in the south of England as a whole. During the course of the last two hundred years the construction of canals, metalled roads, and railways has linked up larger and larger areas with Oxford. Direct communication with London by water is provided by the Thames. While the amount of water-borne traffic is not very large to-day, it

must be remembered that, until recent centuries, the river was the main artery for the carriage of heavy goods between London and Oxford. Transport was not always easy as the river was sometimes very shallow in the summer and was often flooded in the winter. In order to facilitate the navigation of the river, locks were built, some of them as early as the seventeenth century.

At the present time the Thames is navigable throughout the whole Survey Area from the junction with the Windrush on the west to the junction with the Thame on the south-east—a distance of nearly thirty-two miles. During this part of its course the river falls from a level of 203·9 feet (above Northmoor Lock) to a level of 147·2 feet (below Day's Lock)—a total fall of over 56 feet. The fall is controlled by twelve locks (see Fig. 6), and it should be noticed that the Thames Conservancy has been very active during the years since the war in the work of improving the locks on this section of the river. For example, Iffley Lock was reconstructed in 1925, Eynsham and King's Locks were built in 1928, and Medley Weir was abolished in 1930. The river is navigable by vessels with a maximum draught of about 4 ft. 3 in. (in summer) as far as Oxford, and is used by barges engaged in the timber trade.¹ Above Oxford there is practically no traffic other than that of pleasure boats.

The use of waterways was further developed during the eighteenth century by the construction of canals (Fig. 6). The Oxford Canal, which links Coventry and Oxford by way of Rugby and Banbury, was originally set out by Brindley. Although work was begun in 1769, there were many delays and the first boat did not enter Banbury until 1778. Lack of money further held up the project, but the canal was finally carried through to Oxford in 1790. This waterway, about eighty miles in length, provided a through route from the midlands to London, thus enabling the products of Birmingham to reach the south more easily, and incidentally giving Oxford a cheaper supply of coal. The Cherwell was not sufficiently deep for navigation by barge, but its valley was utilized for the construction of the canal. One section of the Oxford Canal is still a route of importance in the present canal system of England, but the section which passes through the Survey Area is not much used. One item of the traffic of the canal is road material, which is exported from Warwickshire, but the principal commodity transported in the Oxford section is coal.² The canal has important connexions with the Grand Union Canal

¹ In 1936 1,940 tons of timber were conveyed to Oxford by river.

² Other goods carried are gas-tar, timber, and road material (including gravel and sand), but coal is by far the most important.

(London section) at Braunston near Daventry, and with the Birmingham section at Napton. There are two connexions with the Thames, by means of Duke's Cut near Wolvercote, and by the Isis Lock near Hythe Bridge in Oxford (Fig. 6).

The other canal in the Survey Area, the Wilts. and Berks. Canal, has been closed for the part of its course between Abingdon and

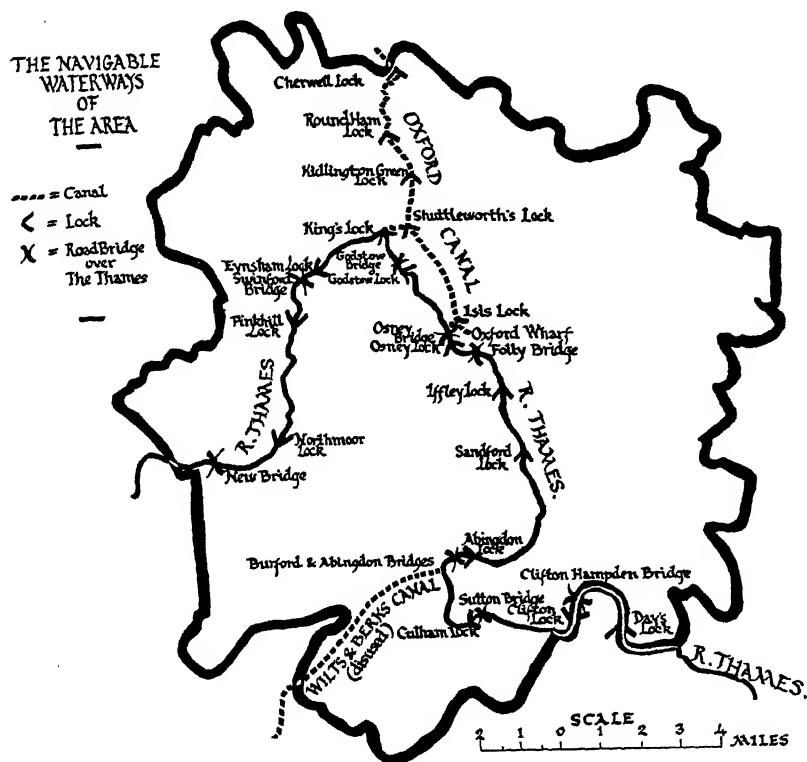


FIG. 6.

Swindon since about 1876. With its connexions this canal was formerly one of the several means of communication between the Severn and the Thames. The objects of building the canal, which was authorized in 1795, were to provide Abingdon with coal from the Radstock mines of Somerset, to export agricultural produce, principally wheat and cheese, from the Vale of the White Horse to London and Bristol, and finally to send building materials from the Bath quarries to London.¹ The canal utilized the Ock valley in the

¹ *Report of Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways* (1906), vol. i, p. 252.

Vale of the White Horse, and roughly followed the route that was later taken by the main line of the Great Western Railway. The course of the canal passes through the Great Western Works at Swindon. Competition with the railway killed the canal, which is now derelict within the Survey Area and is never likely to be used again.¹

(2) *Roads*. The construction of roads in the Area presented road surveyors with many serious difficulties. The great width of land that is liable to flood and also the large extent of bare clay hindered the maker of the roads. There are few hard rocks within the Area, so most of the material for making roads has to be imported from outside. The Coral Rag is used for foundations and sometimes for the surface, but it does not wear well. Oxford lies off the roads of the Roman period; the one Roman road in the Area runs from Alchester to Dorchester (Fig. 7). This road avoided the alluvial land wherever possible and followed the high ground, two and a half miles east of the present centre of Oxford. All the old tracks similarly avoided the clay, and to-day the made roads of the Area run for the shortest possible distance on the alluvium. There are also very few bridges over the Thames. Although the river provided such a useful means of transport in early times, its present significance is more in the nature of a barrier to communication. The main stream of the river within the Survey Area is crossed by only eight bridges that are open to vehicular traffic, and the lack of bridges does much to isolate certain villages.² There is no road-bridge over the Thames between Folly Bridge and Abingdon (a distance of over eight miles by river), and this fact is a strong argument in favour of the construction of a new bridge and by-pass road south of Oxford. The Thames has served as a county boundary between Oxfordshire and Berkshire for over a thousand years. For a large part of its course the river is a very effective divide between the counties that line its opposite banks.

The position of Oxford is the key to the existing network of roads in the Area. The city commands the entrance to a gap in the scarp of the Oxford Heights. These hills have to be climbed by all the roads which leave Oxford, except the northern roads, and the branch of

¹ The section of the canal south of Abingdon has been filled in and the junction between the canal and the river no longer exists.

² New Bridge, Swinford Bridge (Eynsham), Godstow Bridge, Osney Bridge, Folly Bridge, Abingdon and Burford Bridges, Sutton Bridge, and Clifton Hampden Bridge (Fig. 6). The bridges at Eynsham, Sutton, and Clifton Hampden are all toll bridges. For an account of these bridges see Mayo and others, *The Thames Valley from Cricklade to Staines* (1929), chap. iv, pp. 23-33.

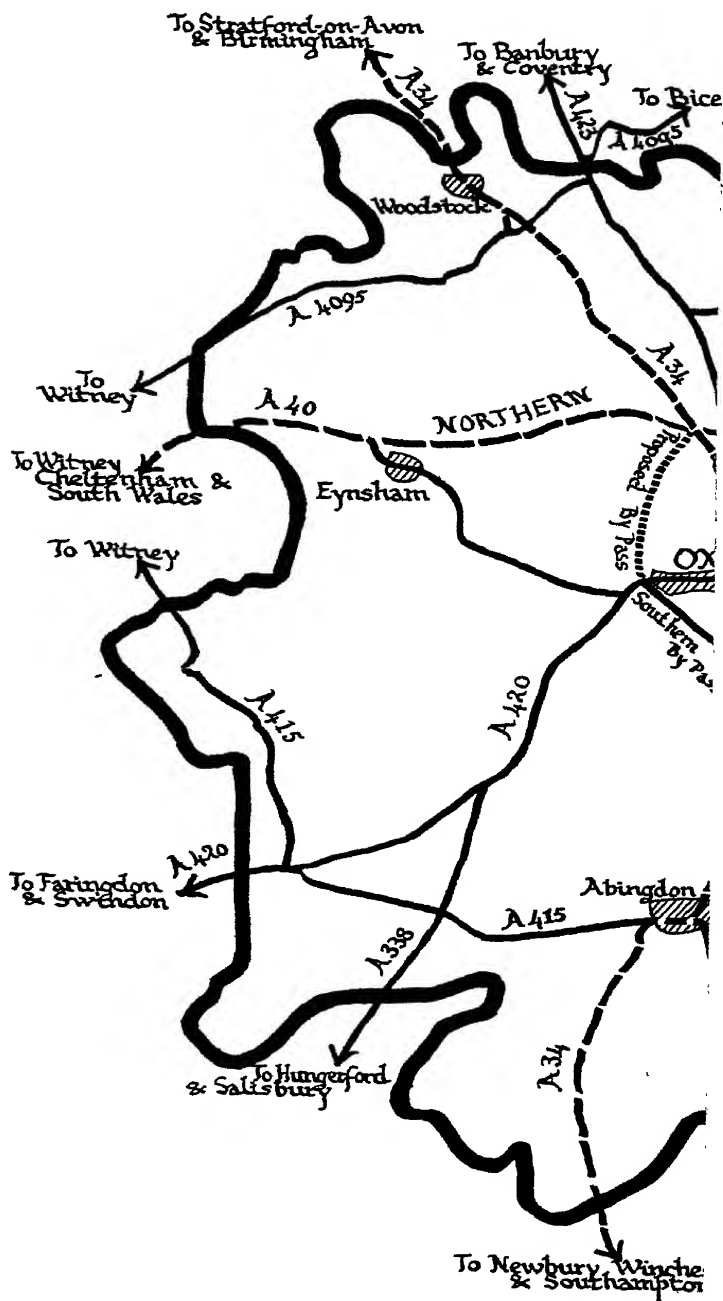


FIG.

the western roads which takes its course through the lateral Botley gap to Swinford Bridge and Eynsham. Of the exits from Oxford, it is only towards the north that it is possible to leave without crossing the damp alluvial bottoms, and even in this direction the roads must traverse an old alluvial channel of the Cherwell. The Woodstock and Banbury Roads both run northwards along the gravel terrace (see Fig. 4), and are never flooded. The western exit, the Botley Road, crosses the alluvium at its widest part, and has to negotiate the many channels of the braided Thames by a number of bridges—the Seven Bridges Road. This route is a comparatively recent one, as the original bridges, built in 1540, were only wide enough for one vehicle to cross at a time. The coach roads to Faringdon and Witney were not made until 1760–70, and the bridges between Oxford and Botley were widened at the same time. Wytham Hill is separated from Cumnor Hurst and Boars Hill by a cross-valley, in which the highest point is only 30 feet above the level of the Thames. This gap was utilized when the two important roads to Faringdon and Witney were constructed. The southern exit over Folly Bridge crosses the alluvium by passing from one gravel patch to another (see Fig. 4), and then finds its way up to Boars Hill and so to Abingdon. The Folly Bridge was built by the first Norman governor, but the ford which it probably replaced was not the ‘ford’ of ‘Oxford’. An ancient route crossed the four branches of the Thames between Castle Mill and North Hinksey by means of four fords, and it has been suggested that one of these was the original ford from which the city gets its name.¹ The eastern entry to Oxford from London by way of Magdalen Bridge has always been the most important of the roads that come into the city. Here, at the eastern end of the bridge, the three main roads from Headington, Cowley, and Iffley unite before they cross the river. Magdalen Bridge is situated at the place where the river gravels on either side of the river approach one another most closely (see Fig. 4). The main road to London originally ran over the top of Shotover Hill, but the newer coaching road took the lower gradients that were offered by a course through Headington.

The roads of the Survey Area as a whole are remarkable in that they do not follow the river valleys. No road is found along the banks of either the upper Thames or the Cherwell, as the valleys are liable to flood. Just outside the Area it will be noticed that the main road from Oxford to Cheltenham runs on the plateau above the Windrush, while the road from Oxford to Banbury is also on the

¹ H. Salter, ‘The Ford of Oxford’, *Antiquity*, ii (1928), pp. 458–60.

higher ground west of the Cherwell, and thus avoids the incised meanders of the river. Within the Area all the more important roads converge on Oxford (Fig. 7). Three main national routes pass through Oxford and the Survey Area. Perhaps the most important is the road to Oxford via High Wycombe, and on to Witney, Cheltenham, Gloucester, and South Wales (A40). This road is intersected at Oxford by the Birmingham, Stratford-on-Avon, Woodstock, Abingdon, Newbury, Southampton route (A34).¹ Another road from the midlands comes from Coventry and Banbury and enters Oxford as the Banbury Road (A423). A road which runs along the length of the trough between the Chilterns and the limestone carp is of some importance. This road comes from Bedford and the towns farther north-east, to Buckingham, Bicester, and Oxford (A421 and 422). The road is carried on from Oxford to Cumnor, Faringdon, Swindon, and so to the south-west of England (A420).

Three main roads connect Oxford with London, first the High Wycombe road via Headington, High Wycombe, and Uxbridge (A40), secondly the Iffley, Dorchester, Henley, Maidenhead, Slough road (A423), and lastly the Wallingford, Streatley, Reading road (A329). The new by-pass to the north of Oxford connects the London-High Wycombe road with the Oxford, Cheltenham, South Wales road, and also forms a direct connexion with the two roads which leave north Oxford for the midlands by way of Banbury or Woodstock.

(3) *Railways*. The railways within the Survey Area, unlike the roads, have used the valleys of the rivers, which provide the lowest passage from one plain to another, for it is essential for the railway to be as level as is possible. The line from Radley to Oxford, for instance, uses the valley of the Thames and the Sandford gap. The alluvium is overcome by building embankments just above the level of the floods. The lines from Oxford to Banbury, and Oxford to Worcester, utilize the valleys of the Cherwell and the Evenlode respectively. In the case of these two meandering rivers, the railway follows the general line of the stream, but is compelled to cross the river by numerous embankments and bridges, and also to make cuttings through the projecting spurs.

With one exception² all the railways of the Area were built between

¹ The roads numbered A34 and A40 are the only trunk roads in the Area to be nationalized under the Trunk Roads Act of 1936. Road A40 is to be given a width of 140 feet when it is widened.

² The branch line to Woodstock was built in 1890.

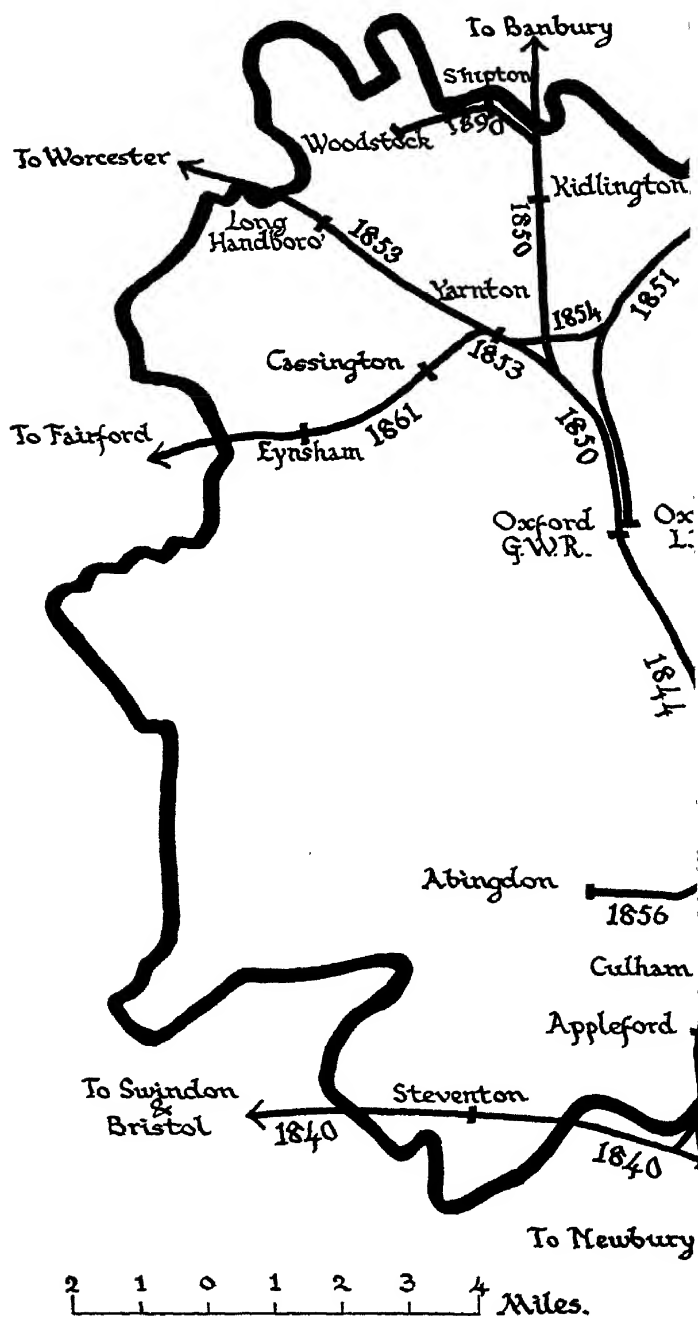


FIG. 8

1840 and 1864 (Fig. 8). The line of greatest importance is the main line of the Great Western Railway, the Paddington, Reading, Didcot, Swindon line which avoids Oxford and passes through the extreme south of the Area. The line between Didcot and Oxford is the most important line within the Area itself; it has a small branch line from Radley to Abingdon. The main line north of Oxford divides near Yarnton into three branches, of which the Oxford, Banbury, and Birmingham line carries the greatest number of trains. A small branch line for Woodstock leaves the Banbury line at Kidlington.¹ The line from Oxford to Worcester via Long Handborough and Charlbury (the old Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton line) is the second most important of the three routes, and the old East Gloucestershire line to Eynsham, Witney, and Fairford, its terminus, is certainly the least used. The last line was originally planned to run as far as Cirencester, but the work was never completed. Another line leaves Oxford south of Iffley, and eventually follows the general direction of the river Thame. This railway proceeds to the important junction of Princes Risborough by way of Cowley, Wheatley, and Thame. All the railways that have been mentioned so far are within the system of the Great Western Railway. The only line belonging to another company within the Area is the London Midland and Scottish line that runs from a terminus at Oxford to Bletchley by way of Islip and Bicester. This line is linked up with the Oxford and Worcester line by a short branch, the famous Yarnton loop, the construction of which was part of a long controversy in the early development of railways within the Area. An account of the history of the loop is out of place here and may be found elsewhere.² The loop provides a through route from Wales and Worcester to eastern England, without passing through Oxford. The line is not used by passenger trains, but is valuable for goods traffic.

The nodality of Oxford is clearly emphasized by Fig. 8, which shows that six lines converge upon the city. The accessibility of Oxford in Britain as a whole, from the point of view of railway communication, is fully indicated by the fact that through trains or carriages leave Oxford for places as far afield as London, Newcastle, Aberdeen, Birkenhead, Dover, Bournemouth, Penzance, Bristol, and Cardiff. Between Oxford and East Anglia the through connexions are not good, but there is a through service to Cambridge.

¹ Between Kidlington and Hampton Gay the line is a 'bay' line running beside the main line. At Hampton Gay the branch leaves the main line and proceeds to Woodstock.

² E. T. MacDermot, *History of the Great Western Railway* (1927-31), i, pp. 507-8.

The history of the railway stations at Oxford is of great significance in the planning of the city. When a branch line from the main line at Didcot to a terminus at Oxford was first proposed in 1837, it was intended to carry the line more or less along the Cowley Road and to build the station near Magdalen Bridge. Fortunately, the building of a terminus on the site was strongly opposed, and in June 1844 the first station was opened near Folly Bridge, on the west side of Abingdon Road. This station was always a terminus as the northward extension of the line to Banbury, built in 1850, left the old line at Millstream Junction, one mile south of Folly Bridge. A new station, on the site of the present station, was opened in 1852, but the old station at Folly Bridge was used for goods until 1872, when it was finally closed to all traffic.¹

The present Oxford stations are so placed that they are reasonably convenient for the city as a whole. Owing to the elongated shape of the built-up area of Oxford, the stations are on the outskirts of the city, but within only half a mile of its business centre at Carfax. By building the stations on the western side of the town, the minimum of damage was done to the amenities of Oxford. If the Magdalen Bridge station had been built, the main line might have been carried northwards up the Cherwell valley. By a fortunate chance that disaster was avoided.

The railway nearly transformed Oxford into an industrial city as early as 1865. In that year the Great Western Railway proposed to build a carriage and wagon works on 22 acres of ground behind the station. The level of the ground was to be raised by 4 feet, as the land was subject to floods. The city was eager to see the project carried through and offered to lease the land to the company, but the university vigorously opposed the erection of the factory. The directors of the company decided to construct the works at Oxford, in spite of offers of land from the towns of Reading, Abingdon, Banbury, and Warwick.² The proposal was fiercely attacked by *The Times* in a leading article,³ which described the scheme as 'a magnificent blunder' and 'a preposterous choice'. *Punch* brought out a cartoon which ridiculed the company's plan.⁴ Eventually the idea of

¹ E. T. MacDermot, op. cit., i, pp. 176-81; ii, pp. 65-6.

² Ibid., ii, pp. 29-30.

³ *The Times*, August 25th, 1865. The article urged 'that the works be built at Abingdon, a place which, weary of the sleepy decay of a superannuated country town, would welcome the manufacturing population which the University dreads. . . . By adopting the Abingdon site, the Directors would lose nothing, they would save a large expense, and at the same time escape what must be the unwholesome imputation of disfiguring an ancient and beautiful city and damaging the interests of a national University.'

⁴ *Punch*, September 9th, 1865.

building the carriage works at Oxford was dropped, and the new factory was erected at Swindon.

Abingdon.

Outside Oxford, Abingdon is the largest town within the Area. This place was established several centuries before Oxford and it still has an appearance of great antiquity. At Abingdon the river Ock joins the Thames, and the town itself is built on a gravel terrace above the latter river. Abingdon originally owed its fame to an abbey,¹ but it later became the market town for the Vale of the White Horse. The town is placed near a useful crossing of the Thames. As a result of the construction of a stone bridge at this point in 1416, the old main road from London for the west deserted the bridge at Wallingford for that at Abingdon. Like Reading, Wallingford, and Oxford, Abingdon must have flourished on the river traffic of the Thames, and the Wilts. and Berks. Canal gave it important connexions by water with other parts of the country. The first bill to construct a railway from Didcot to Oxford was promoted in parliament in 1837. The scheme, which included a branch line to Abingdon, was thrown out by the House of Lords. The construction of the Abingdon branch was opposed by the member for the borough, so neither the unsuccessful bill of 1838 nor the bill of 1843, which finally passed into law, included any provision for the branch line.² It was not until 1856 that a line joining Abingdon with the main line was built. The little branch was a financial success, but it did not add much to the prosperity of Abingdon, which was left in a back-water by the new means of transport.

In 1865, when the Great Western Railway Company were considering the erection of new carriage and wagon works at Oxford, the corporation of Abingdon made a great effort to persuade the company to start the new industry near their town. The corporation offered to give the company 20 acres of land that were liable to flood as a site for the new works, but the proposals came to nothing. In recent years Abingdon has shared in the industrial development of Oxford, and is in some ways a satellite of that city.

Woodstock.

Woodstock is the only other municipal borough in the Area. This town is situated on the oolite rocks and has, therefore, a 'Cotswold' character which is quite distinct from the villages on the Oxford Clay plain a few miles away. Woodstock stands at a point where a

¹ *Antiquity*, iv (1930), pp. 487-9.

² E. T. MacDermot, *op. cit.*, i, p. 176.

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road crosses the small river Glyme, which has quite a deep valley. The importance of the town has been due to historical rather than to geographical causes, but it must have served as a convenient market centre for the surrounding smaller villages, and as a place of interchange for the products of the two regions, the North Oxfordshire Hills and the Oxford Clay vale. Like Abingdon, Woodstock was left off the main line of railways, with which it was connected by a branch line, built as late as 1890. Owing to the poor communications the place has long remained stagnant, but signs of growth are now beginning to appear, and Woodstock may eventually become another dormitory of Oxford.

Conclusion.

It has been the object of this chapter to describe the geographical setting of an area which is being rapidly changed by industrial development and to show some of the ways in which natural conditions have affected growth. It is not suggested that geographical factors alone have been the cause of Oxford's recent expansion. The success of the motor industry must be attributed mainly to the initiative and ability of its founder, as the Oxford region has not got the advantages of local supplies of power and raw materials that are enjoyed by older industrial regions. While the doctrine of pure geographical determinism is wholly inapplicable in the case of the location of this new industry, it must be remembered that the Oxford region has always had certain latent possibilities, especially a natural nodality, that awaited man's exploitation and which is now being fully utilized. The simple facts of the central position of Oxford in the south of England and its short and easy routes of communication with three great ports are probably the most significant natural advantages of the Survey Area.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION

THE basis of this Survey of the Oxford district must be an examination of the population of the Area—of its numbers, of its distribution between town and country and between different areas of local administration, of its age and sex composition. We must focus attention from the first upon the fact that it is the rapid changes of population since the War which have thrust problems in almost every sphere upon the local authorities. The extent to which these problems have been solved provides a searching test of the adaptability and efficiency of our institutions.

Reasonably accurate information about population begins only with the nineteenth century. The first census was taken, probably rather imperfectly, in 1801. It showed a population for the Area of the present Survey of about 39,500; Oxford had 12,279 people, Abingdon 4,163, and Woodstock 1,322; the remaining 22,000—55 per cent. of the whole—were scattered through the villages. There followed the period of great population growth and of industrialization in Britain, which had multiplied the numbers in England and Wales nearly two and a half times by 1871 and nearly four times by the eve of the Great War. The Oxford district was not touched by industrialization, but until the seventies its agriculture was becoming progressively more intensive, and the change in its population, though slower than that in the whole country, was quite considerable. In 1871 there were about 76,000 people in the Area, of whom 30,484 lived in Oxford, another 8,000 in Abingdon and Woodstock, and the remainder—just less than half—in the country. So far, town and country had very nearly kept pace. But after that the checks to the prosperity of British agriculture and the positive attractions of the towns began to tell. Oxford itself continued to grow, though rather more slowly, but the rural districts began to experience a decline which was at first relative, then absolute; and their decline held back the smaller boroughs also. In 1911 the Area had 97,290 people, of whom more than two-thirds lived in the boroughs and their immediate suburbs; the rural population, about 27,000, was less by nearly a third than it had been in 1871.

Our study of more recent happenings must start from a consideration of the changes of total numbers.¹ The population of the whole

¹ See Appendix I, note 1.

Survey Area, as enumerated by census, was in 1911, 97,290; in 1921, 102,926; and in 1931, 121,891.¹ Since this last date no census has been taken, and no reliable official information is available, but special estimates prepared for the purpose of this Survey show totals of 138,983 for April 1st, 1935, and of 146,913 for April 1st, 1937² (see Fig. 9). Thus in the whole period of twenty-six years the population

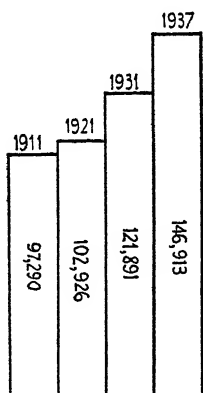


FIG. 9. Population of the Survey Area, 1911-37.

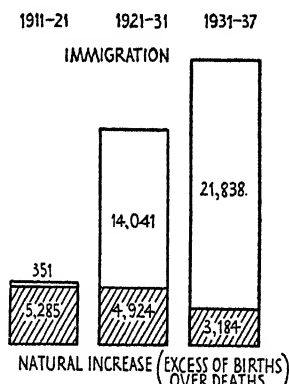


FIG. 10. Natural Increase and Net Immigration in the Survey Area, 1911-37.

increased by just over a half (50.9 per cent.). Comparative figures for the Area and England and Wales are given in the following table:

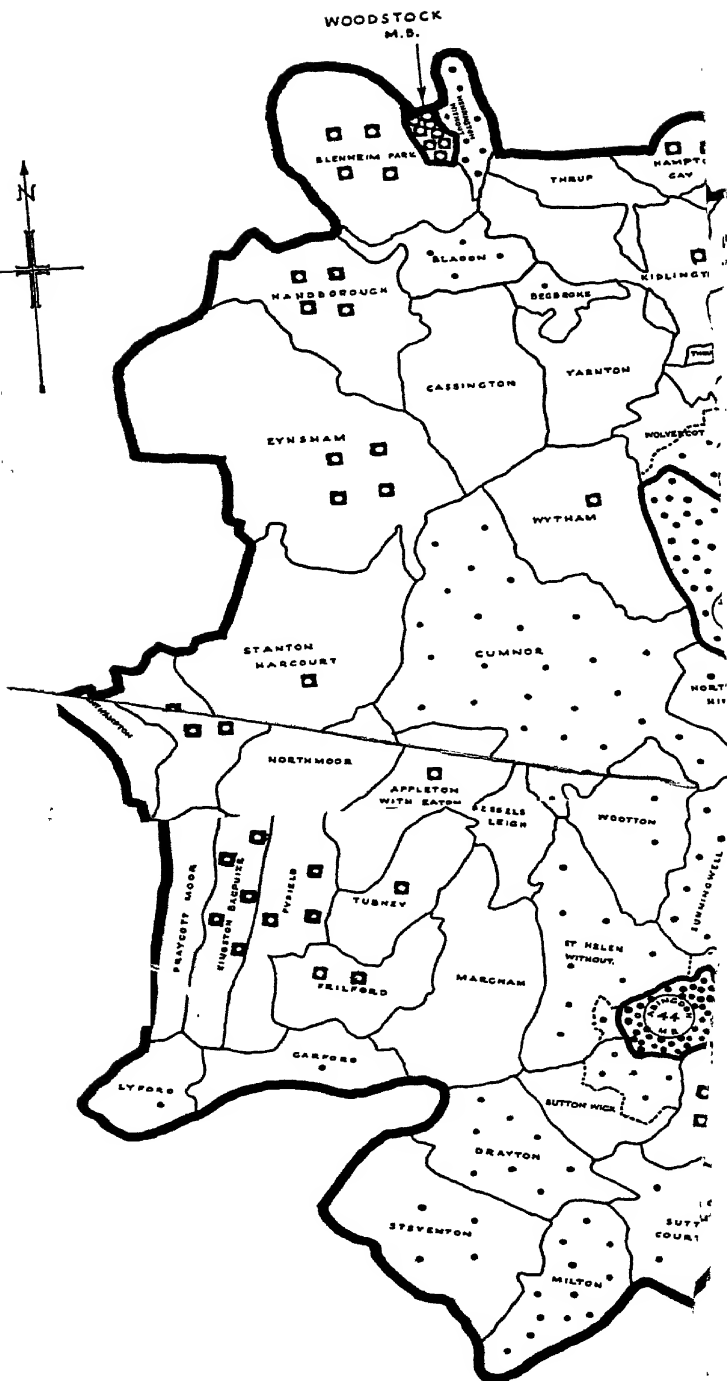
TABLE I
Population changes, 1911-37

	Survey Area		England and Wales
	Absolute increase	% increase	% increase
1911-21 . . .	5,636	5.8	5.0
1921-31 . . .	18,965	18.4	5.5
1931-37 . . .	25,022	20.5	2.6 (estimated)

These figures bring out clearly the accelerating rate of growth in the Area. In the decade 1911-21 the increase was only slightly more than the natural excess of births over deaths, which was 5,285—and this slight surplus in fact is more than accounted for by the accidental change in the number of university residents enumerated in Oxford by the census. In sharp contrast come the conditions of the second decade, 1921-31. The growth in the population in this period was composed of a 'natural increase' of 4.8 per cent., and a net immigra-

¹ See Appendix I, note 2.

² See Appendix I, note 3.



tion of 13.6 per cent.; that is, there were 4,924 more births than deaths, and there was an inflow of 14,041 persons to the Area. Finally, in the six years since 1931 the growth has quickened still further—the average annual increase is in fact more than twice as great as during the previous ten years; and this is the more startling in that growth in the country as a whole has very much slowed down. The excess of births over deaths in the Survey Area was approximately 3,200, but once again the decisive feature was a great net immigration of about 21,800 persons. This immigration is, of course, a net total—it represents the balance between an outward and an inward flow (see Fig. 10). We have no means of estimating directly how many of the residents in 1931 or 1937 had moved into the Area since 1921; we can only say that their numbers were probably considerably greater than the net totals for immigration which have been given.¹ But the increase by net immigration is clearly the decisive feature of the population change, and the sudden arrival of these great numbers from other districts with different social and economic conditions is a fact of fundamental social importance.²

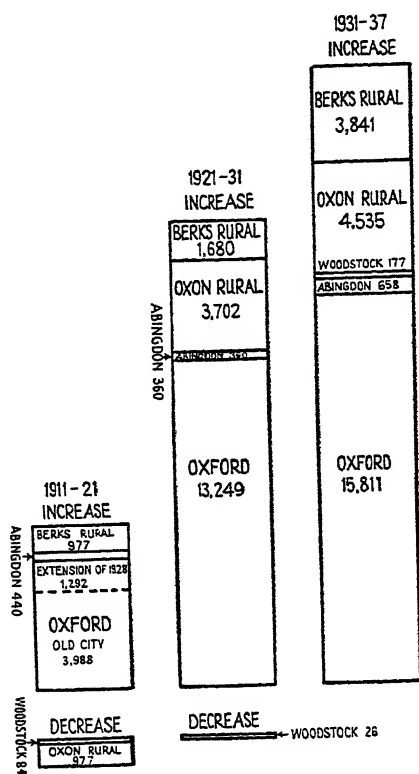


FIG. 11. Distribution of Population Changes, 1911-37.

Distribution.

This large increase of population has not, however, been spread at all evenly over the face of the Survey Area, and as a result there have been large changes in the relative distribution of the people (see Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 14). In 1911, 61,451 persons—63.2 per cent. of the total population—lived within the municipal boundaries

¹ See Appendix I, note 4.

² See Chapter III, below.

of Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock, as they were then defined, and there were about 9,000 persons in the areas which have since been included within these boundaries. The rest of the population was really rural, for the small urban district of Wheatley, which contained 966 persons, was something of an administrative anomaly. Between 1911 and 1921 there was an increase of nearly 4,000 persons in Oxford and 356 in Abingdon, while at Woodstock there was a small decline. The outlying areas since included in the first two boroughs showed a further gain of about 1,400 persons. But this increase of the 'urban' populations—5,636—was exactly equal to that for the whole Area; and over most of the 'rural' parts of the Area there were large declines. In the second decade, 1921-31, Oxford City showed an increase of 13,249—19.7 per cent.—within its boundaries as they were extended in 1929; Abingdon increased by 360—4.8 per cent.;¹ and at Woodstock there was again a small decline. But the 'urban' increase in this decade was only some 70 per cent. of the whole—about 13,600 out of 19,000, and depopulation in the districts which were still administratively 'rural' had almost stopped. Finally, between 1931 and 1937 Oxford City showed a further gain of nearly 16,000 people—19.6 per cent. of its 1931 population—and both Abingdon and Woodstock also increased. But the 'urban' increase was barely two-thirds of the whole.

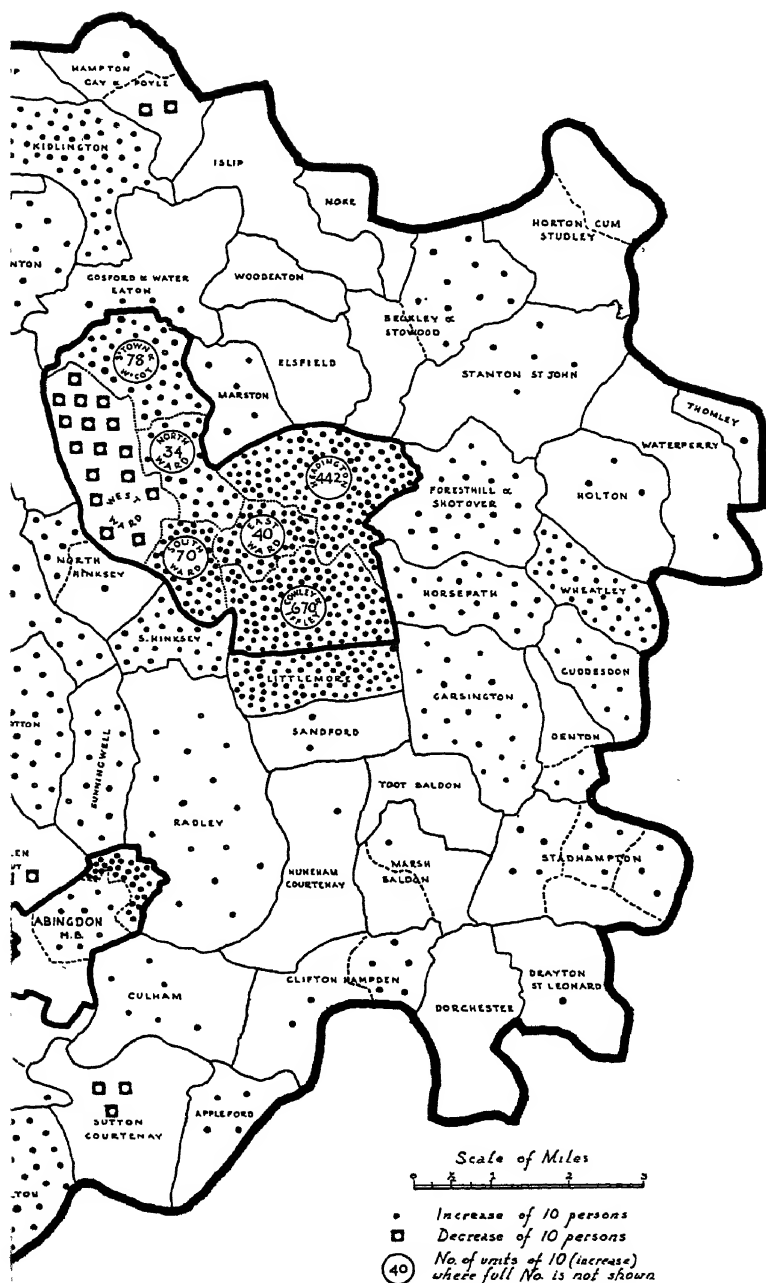
It is clear that, whereas during the first decade the increase of the 'urban' population was mainly within the then municipal boundaries, or just outside them, in the later years it has pushed beyond them at an ever-accelerating rate. This tendency was met in the case of Oxford by the Extension Act of 1928, which included within the boundaries of the county borough most of the 'sub-urban' parishes of Headington, Cowley, Iffley, Wolvercote, Cutteslowe, and part of Marston; and in the case of Abingdon by an adjustment under the Berkshire Review Order of 1934. But large populations of essentially 'urban' habit and interest have widely overflowed even these extended municipal boundaries.

In the parts of Oxfordshire which are, for administrative purposes, 'rural' there was in most places depopulation between 1911 and 1921. The total population decreased from 17,627 to 16,650—a fall of 5.5 per cent.² Of the 52 parishes (as constituted in 1931), 38 showed declines of population, 1 was unchanged, and 13 showed increases.

¹ Within the present boundaries, as extended in 1934.

² Including the parish of Wheatley, which was an urban district until April 1st, 1932, when it lost its 'urban' status, but excluding the areas affected by the Oxford Extension Act, 1928.

POPULATION CHANGES 1921-1931



The biggest declines were on the northern and eastern fringes of the Area—the most remote and purely agricultural in character; such places as Beckley, Denton, and Waterperry seemed almost to be threatened with the fate of the 'deserted village'. The scattered increases were mainly in the parishes near Oxford and Woodstock.¹ On the Berkshire side of the Thames, in the rural district of Abingdon,² the situation was rather different. There was an increase of the total population from 9,250 to 10,311—11·5 per cent.; of the 24 parishes, 7 showed declines and 17 increases. The bulk of the increase was indeed concentrated in the parishes adjoining Oxford and Abingdon, and at Milton, which adjoins the growing railway centre at Didcot and contains an Air Force stores depot; but many even of the agricultural parishes held their own.³

In the second decade, 1921-31, the 'rural' districts of Oxfordshire showed a large increase, from 16,650 to 20,352—22·2 per cent. Of the 52 parishes, 42 showed increases, 9 showed decreases, and 1 remained unchanged. The decreases, with one exception (Dorchester), were confined to parishes which remained purely agricultural in character. The largest increases were indeed in parishes such as Littlemore and Forest Hill, which adjoin the city boundary, or in more or less clearly defined 'dormitory' villages such as Kidlington; but there was a fairly general sprinkling over most of the Area as well.⁴ In the 'rural' districts² of Berkshire there was also a large increase, from 10,311 to 12,275—19·0 per cent.; of the 24 parishes, 15 showed increases and 9 decreased. But here the gains were perhaps more clearly confined to parishes subject to residential influences; most of the purely agricultural villages showed declines.⁵ In the whole district, the most striking gains were shown by the parishes of Littlemore, Kidlington, Cumnor, Wheatley, Eynsham, Milton, Wootton, and South Hinksey, each of which increased by more than 200 persons in the decade.

During the last six years, 1931 to 1937, the growth of population in the 'rural' districts has been still further accelerated. The Oxfordshire parishes showed a growth of 4,535 persons—22·2 per cent. of their 1931 population, and the rural district of Abingdon one of 3,841—32·8 per cent. The average annual increase during the past six years has therefore been double that of the previous decade in Oxfordshire, and considerably more than treble in Berkshire. But the distribution of growth has also changed somewhat. There is now, especially in the last two years, much more tendency for the

¹ See Appendix I, note 5.

² Pre-1934 area.

³ See Appendix I, note 6.

⁴ See Appendix I, note 7.

⁵ See Appendix I, note 8.

increase to be concentrated in a few well-defined areas, rather than scattered about the whole district in sporadic building or 'ribbon' development along the roads. The Oxfordshire parish of Forest Hill with Shotover, for instance, shows an increase of 2,000 persons—almost all concentrated in compact housing estates on the western side of the parish; North Hinksey and Kidlington, each with a growth of nearly 1,000 persons, and Wootton, Cumnor, St. Helen Without, and Radley, each with more than 400, are all to a large extent examples of the same tendency.¹ But most of the remoter villages, away from the main roads, show little growth since 1931; indeed, it seems probable that in 34 out of the 65 'rural' parishes there have been since 1935 small declines. Large tracts of the Area outside the 'urban' boundaries have now become 'urban' in all their essential characteristics, and others will no doubt become so during the next few years. But wholesale and sporadic 'sub-urbanization' of ancient villages seems to be slowing down or stopping; we may yet hope that many of them will be left in peace, their stone and thatch unmarred by patches of modern brick and tile.

Density of population.

The density of population which has resulted from the changing circumstances of the last twenty-five years varies largely, as might be expected, in different parts of the Area (see Figs. 15 and 16). The following table shows that the 'urban' areas have fairly low densities if the whole of each is taken as a single unit.

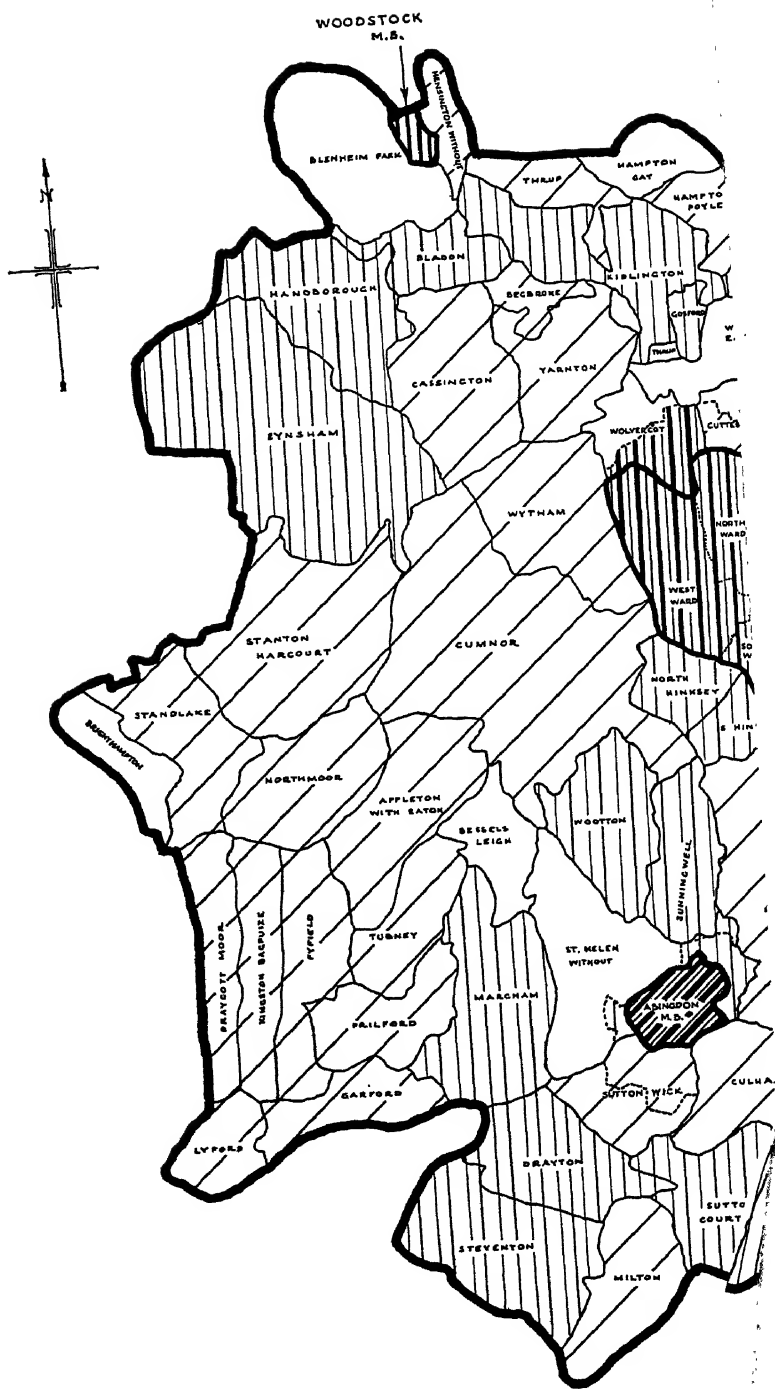
TABLE 2
Density of population

	<i>Number of persons per acre</i>	
	<i>1931</i>	<i>1937</i>
Oxford C.B. . . .	9.6	11.4
Woodstock M.B. . .	9.5	10.7
Abingdon M.B. . .	4.57*	4.9

* Within the present boundaries of the town.

The Oxford density compares favourably with that of other towns of comparable size, such as Northampton (26.6) and Gloucester (22.8); indeed, in 1931 only six county boroughs showed fewer persons per acre than Oxford. These average figures, however, conceal wide differences within each municipal unit. Thus in Oxford City the east ward had in 1931 25.1 persons per acre, the south ward 19.9, and the north ward 14.3, but the other four wards were of a

¹ See Appendix I, note 9.



very different character. The west ward had a nominal figure of only 7.5, but this was the result of the balance between a built-up area of great density and the great public open space of Port Meadow and the fields around Binsey. The Cowley and Iffley ward had also 7.5 persons, Headington had 5.7, and Summertown and Wolvercote only 5.0. These three wards were the centres of most of the recent growth, and as most of the building since 1931 has taken place within them, their densities must have been largely increased. But even so, the character of their development makes it certain that they will never become so thickly peopled as the nucleus of the old city. In Woodstock, too, there were similar discrepancies, but in so small a borough differences of density are unimportant. At Abingdon there was in 1931 still a wide difference between the area of the old borough, where the density was 9.9 per acre, and the sub-urban area included in the municipal boundaries by the adjustment of 1934, which had (in 1931) only 0.6 persons per acre. Much of these differences of density within the 'urban' areas is even now being smoothed out as a result of slum clearance at the centre and building developments on the outskirts. The process makes necessary a deliberate planning for the maintenance of open spaces, public and private, on the outskirts, and for their creation, on however small a scale, in slum-clearance areas and elsewhere at the centre. Oxford is fortunate in having excellent foundations upon which to build in these matters. A glance at the map (Fig. 5) facing p. 14 shows that until now the colleges and the university have preserved considerable unbuilt areas near the centre of the city; while the wide tongues of flood land in the valleys of the Cherwell and the Thames have split up the suburban development¹ and maintained avenues of egress into the open country. But there is still a real danger lest the city should be hemmed in by too dense a belt of suburbs along the slopes of the Oxford and Berkshire Heights.

In the administratively 'rural' parts of the Area, the average density over the whole is about 0.30 persons per acre. But here again the average hides great contrasts between individual parishes. In 1937 eleven parishes show a density of more than 0.5 persons per acre. These parishes fall broadly into three categories. In the first come Littlemore (2.68 persons per acre), Forest Hill, Marston, North and South Hinksey, adjoining the city of Oxford; Hensington Without, adjoining Woodstock; and Sutton Courtenay, adjoining Abingdon. Here the high density is explained simply by the fact that purely 'urban' development has overlapped even the extended municipal

¹ See p. 15 above.

boundaries. In the second class come Wheatley and Kidlington. These are examples of the new tendency towards the establishment of satellite towns at convenient points on the main roads, a great many of whose inhabitants go daily into Oxford for their work.¹ The development is of an essentially 'urban' character; the original agricultural populations have been completely swamped, and the villages have in a short time acquired an entirely new character. Lastly, there are the contiguous parishes of Wootton and Sunningwell. These include most of the wealthy residential area usually known as 'Boars Hill', which is really a detached suburb rather than a satellite village; the nucleus of an ancient village is almost absent, the class composition is somewhat exclusive, and the wealth of the residents makes them largely independent alike of local shops and of public transport communications with Oxford.

In the next gradation of population density there are twenty-one parishes with less than 0.5 but more than 0.24 persons per acre. Almost all of these parishes have been somewhat affected by 'suburban' developments, but in only a few of them, such as Horspath, Drayton, Milton, and Cumnor, has this process yet gone far enough seriously to modify their agricultural appearance and character. At Eynsham and at Radley (including until 1936 the newly created parish of Kennington) the low densities are misleading, because the bulk of a large population is concentrated in small portions of what chance to be very large parishes; both Eynsham and Kennington have in fact become satellite villages like Kidlington and Wheatley. In a group of parishes in the south-east of the district (Dorchester, Clifton Hampden, Sutton Courtenay, Steventon, Marcham) the relatively high density of population is not a new occurrence; it appears to be due to the presence of soils and situations more than usually favourable to agriculture.

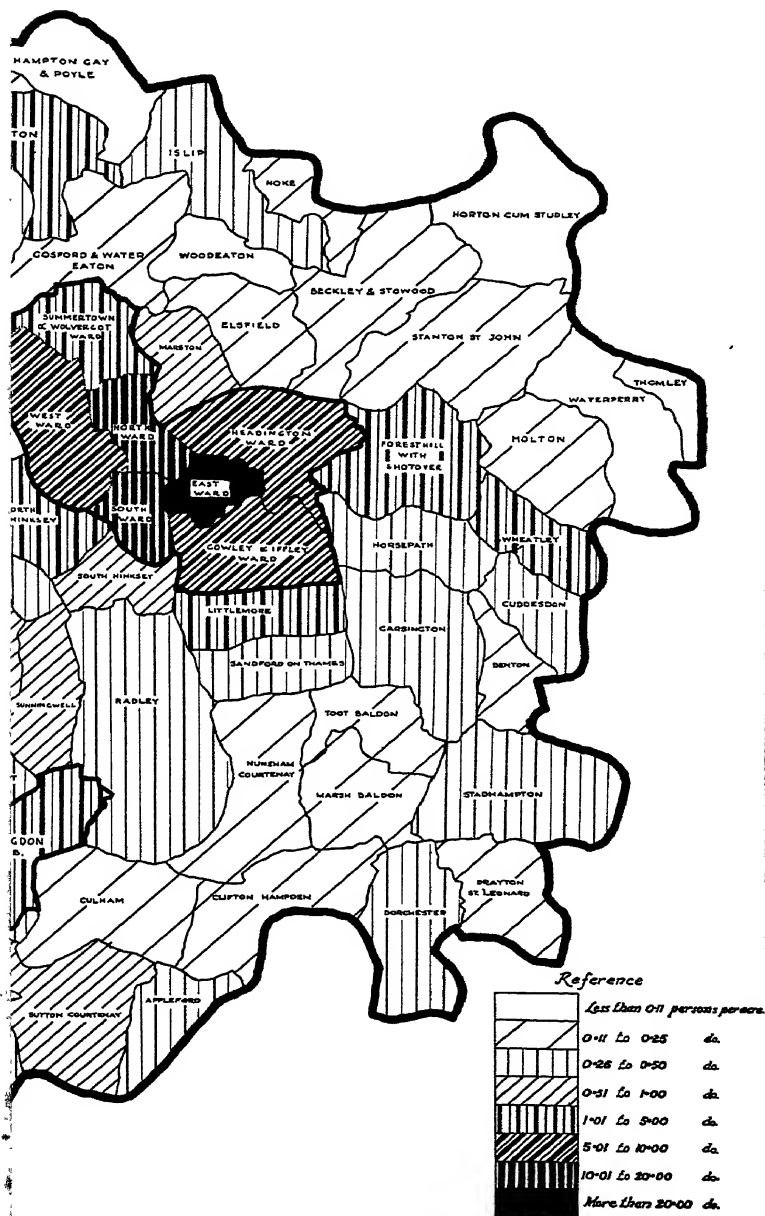
Next there come twenty-four parishes with more than 0.10 but less than 0.25 persons per acre. With one or two exceptions, these have been hardly touched by residential development. They are purely agricultural and their densities are typical of agricultural parishes situated upon poorer soils. They cover solid blocks of country upon the north and north-east and on the south-east and south-west edges of the Area. On the north and north-east the thinly populated region still extends up to the boundaries of the city of Oxford, though the opening of the northern by-pass road since 1935 shows signs of changing this condition.

Finally, there are nine parishes, mostly upon the extreme fringes

¹ See Appendix IV.

DENSITY OF POPULATION 1937.

SCALE OF MILES



of the Area, which have the exceptionally low densities of 0·10 persons or less per acre. Several of these contain large areas of private park land, which have checked their agricultural development in the past, and in at least two of them, Blenheim Park, which adjoins Woodstock, and Wytham, which adjoins Oxford, the policy of the principal landowner has so far been to prevent suburban development.

Sex distribution.

In 1931 the population of the Survey Area consisted of 59,465 males and 62,426 females. There were thus 952 males for every 1,000 females. This excess of females is considerably less than that in England and Wales as a whole, where the ratio was only 920 to 1,000. The difference between the local and national proportions can probably be accounted for by three facts—the presence in Oxford of the university, in which there is a large preponderance of males; the importance of agriculture in the rural parts of the Area—for agriculture is in England an occupation which almost exclusively employs males; and the fact that the motor industry in Oxford is largely staffed by males, and has attracted a large number of unmarried immigrants from outside the Area. These forces reflect themselves in the relative distribution of males and females over the Area. In the ‘rural’ districts, 31 parishes out of 51 in Oxfordshire, and 8 out of 24 in Berkshire, showed an actual preponderance of males over females. These parishes were, with a few exceptions such as Kidlington and Eynsham (both of which house numbers of motor workers employed in Oxford), still almost completely agricultural and had been little touched by residential development. In all the ‘urban’ areas, if taken as units, there was an excess of females—in Abingdon M.B. there were only 875 males to every 1,000 females; but in the Cowley and Iffley ward, in the south ward, and in the west ward of Oxford City there was a considerable preponderance of males. These are, of course, the wards mainly affected by the industrial and undergraduate populations. In the Summertown and Wolvercote ward there was an enormous preponderance of females—only 733 males to every 1,000 females; this presumably reflects the fact that this ward is mainly inhabited by fairly wealthy and servant-keeping families. It may be compared with the Headington ward, which is also mainly residential, but which is less wealthy; here the proportion was only 924 to 1,000.

The recent changes in the character of the Area are also clearly illustrated by a comparison of the sex distribution of the population in 1921 and 1931. In 1921 the deficiency of males in the whole Area

was much more marked than in 1931; there were only 48,310 males to 54,616 females—a ratio of 885 to 1,000. In part, no doubt, this lessening of the disparity between the sexes is due to the gradual reduction of the relative importance of the war losses of men, and to the unusual masculinity of births since the War, but, since in the whole of England and Wales this only caused a rise in the ratio of males from 913 to 920 per 1,000 females, these causes cannot account for the much greater rise from 885 to 952 in the Survey Area. The probable cause for most of the change is a large preponderance of males among the immigrants to the Area; and this in its turn is probably the result of the general cause that men move their places of residence more easily than women,¹ and of the particular cause that the expanding industries of the Area offer employment chiefly to males. This latter point is illustrated by the fact that the area of the present Cowley and Iffley ward in Oxford, which was in 1921 still little affected by industrialization, had then an excess of females over males, whereas by the year 1931 the sex ratio had been reversed. In general, the industrial and social changes have tended to reduce the disparities between the sexes in the different parts of the Area, as well as in the whole. The infusion of a suburban element into the agricultural villages has in very many cases reduced or reversed a previous excess of males over females, while the industrialization of areas which were already urban has usually corrected a previous excess of females over males.

The ratio of males to females varies very much in the different age-groups. In the Survey Area as a whole there is an excess of males in all the (five-yearly) age-groups below the age of 30; an excess of females in all the (ten-yearly) age-groups above that age. This excess of males is greatest in the age-group 20-5, in which there were 8,141 males to 6,181 females—a ratio of 1,318 males to every 1,000 females. The number of males to 1,000 females was 897 in the age-group 30-40; thereafter it falls steadily, until among persons over 70 it was only 633. The proportion between the sexes in the different age-groups does not vary very widely in the various parts of the Area. Oxford C.B. had a small deficiency of females in the age-group 5-10, and the excess of males between 20 and 25 was greater than elsewhere, being 1,407 to 1,000. In Abingdon M.B. there was an excess of males only in the two groups 0-5 and 5-10, and at Woodstock M.B. only in these groups and in that from 60 to 70. The former urban district of Wheatley had excess of males only between the ages of 15 to 25 and 60 to 70; it is perhaps worth noticing that there

¹ See p. 53 below.

a considerable deficiency of young male children has been associated with an abnormally high birth-rate. In the 'rural' districts the proportions are much as in the whole Area.

Age-composition.

The age distribution of the population of the Area in 1931 showed several interesting features; some of them were the results of general forces affecting the population of the whole country, others were the

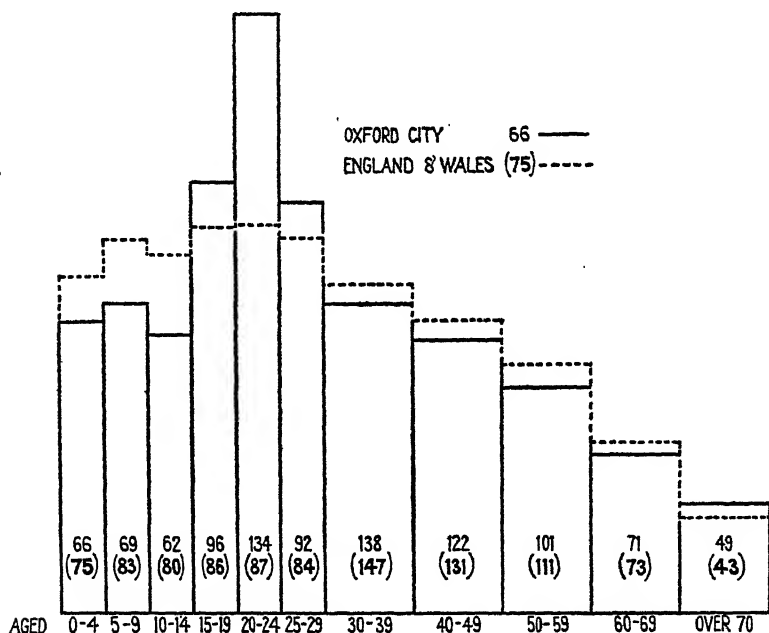


FIG. 17. Age-composition of the Population, 1931.

results of the peculiar character of the Area itself, and of its recent development.

In Figs. 17 and 18 the populations of Oxford City and of the 'rural' parts of the Area have been arranged in five-year age-groups up to the age of 30, in ten-year groups between 30 and 70, and in one group for all persons over 70, in such a way as to show the numbers per 1,000 of total population to be found in each age-group. The average numbers per 1,000 in each age-group for the whole of England and Wales are also shown as a standard.

In a country with a stationary population, which was not subject to influences from either immigration or emigration, the numbers in each age-group would normally decline steadily from the youngest

onwards, and if there was a steadily rising trend of population this effect would be still more noticeable. For England and Wales, however, which are now in a stage of transition from a rapidly rising to a stationary or falling population, the maximum numbers were in 1931 to be found in the age-group 20-4; this is due to the effects of the sharp fall in the numbers of births since the beginning of the War. When we compare this situation with that in the 'rural' parts of the Survey Area in 1931, it is clear that there is quite a close correspondence with the national trend. There is a rather smaller relative

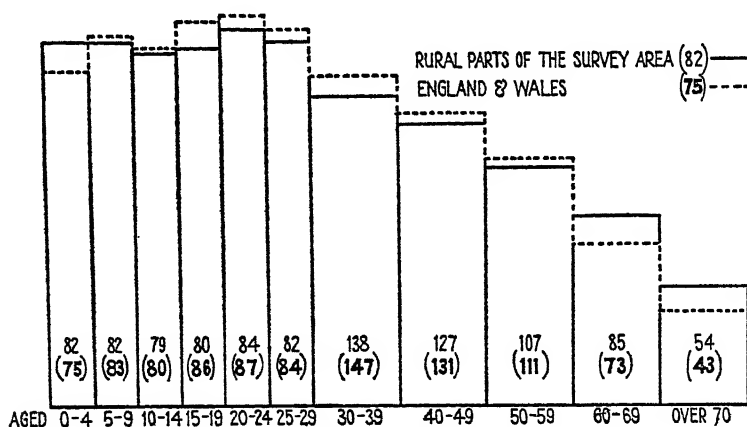


FIG. 18. Age-composition of the Population, 1931.

deficiency in the numbers of children under 5 years of age, which is probably partly due to the higher 'true' birth-rate in agricultural districts, and partly to the large numbers of young married couples living in the 'satellite' villages. Wheatley, for instance, had 94 children under 5, and 93 aged 5-9, per 1,000 of its population, as compared with the national standard of 75. There is some deficiency in the age-groups 30-59, which is the result of heavy emigration from the villages in the twenty years before the War, and there is a rather substantial excess above the national standard in the age-groups over 60, which may be due to the attractiveness of the residential suburbs as places of retirement for the aged, as a result of the cultural and social attractions provided by the university. But none of these divergences from the national standard is really substantial.

In Oxford City, however, the position was altogether different. The outstanding features are the large relative deficiencies in the number of children under 15, and the enormous relative excess in the age-groups 15-29, and especially in that from 20 to 24. The

relative deficiency of children clearly has an important bearing on the possible needs for school services during the next ten years. It is, however, worth noticing that the deficiency was greater in children aged 10-15 than in children under 5, and that the annual number of births has increased very substantially since 1931, so that the absolute numbers of school-children are likely to be greater ten years hence than would appear at first sight.

The great excess of young adults, which reached the enormous figure of 47 per 1,000 above the national standard in the age-group 20-4, must be largely accounted for by the university, but it is also due in part to the less permanent and more novel feature of heavy industrial immigration. Oxford must always have been a city of young men and women, but it is more decisively so now than at any earlier period in its history—or than it is likely to be in the future.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the population of the Area is at present in a very unstable condition, and its present age-composition is a very transient thing. The sequel to the great influx of industrial and other immigrants, who are mostly unmarried when they arrive, is likely to be a rise in the marriage rates and an increase in the numbers of young children, which may well be more than sufficient to make good the deficiency shown by the 1931 census. There is abundant evidence that this has been happening on a considerable scale since 1931, particularly in the satellite villages and new housing estates beyond the city boundary. On the other hand, it is inevitable that the age-composition of the country as a whole should show a steady shift towards the older age-groups during the next twenty years or so, and unless the Oxford district continues to receive young adult immigrants on the same scale as during the last ten years its population also must eventually show a steady rise in its proportion of elderly people.

Size of families.

In 1931 about 86 per cent. of the population of Oxford City lived in private families, and about 14 per cent. in various types of institutions—colleges, schools, hotels and boarding-houses, workhouses, and so on. This compared with a percentage of 90 in 1921, when, however, many undergraduates were not in residence. In Woodstock and Abingdon boroughs the proportion was 94 per cent., and in the 'rural' districts slightly larger.

A 'private family', as defined by the census, is a somewhat artificial unit; it comprises persons or groups of persons who are in separate occupation of any premises, lodgers being included where they

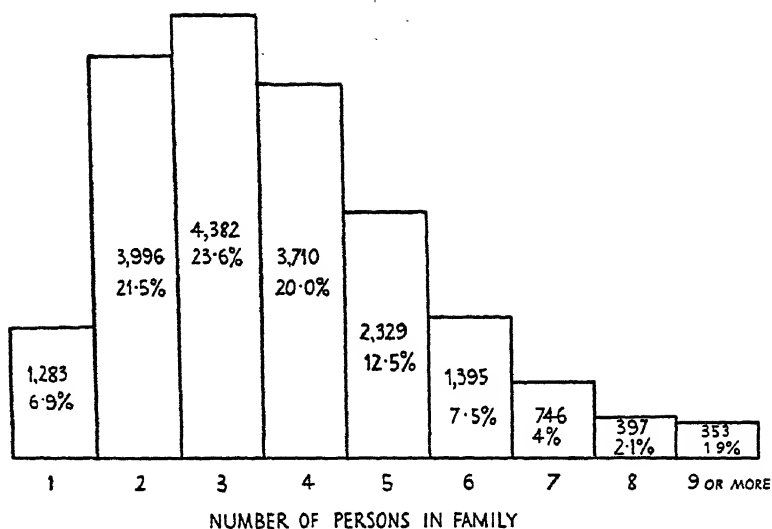
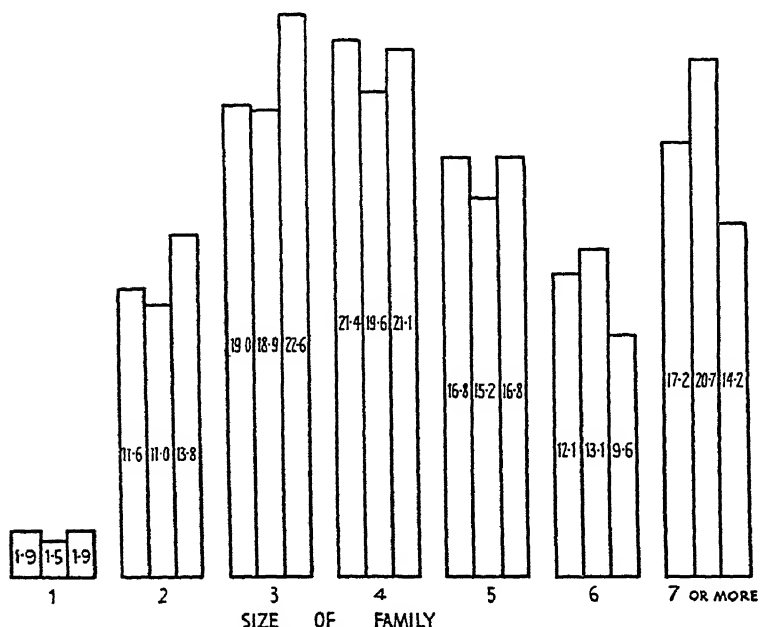


FIG. 19. Numbers of Families of Various Sizes in Oxford City, 1931.
With Percentage of Total Private Families in Each.



1ST COLUMN: OXFORD C.B. 2ND COLUMN: HEADINGTON R.D. 3RD COLUMN: WHEATLEY U.D.

FIG. 20. Proportions of Private Family Population in Families of Various Sizes in Oxford C.B., Headington R.D., Wheatley U.D., 1931.

board with the family, but not otherwise. It would perhaps be better called a 'household' than a 'family'. Thus in a city such as Oxford, one or several undergraduates living together in lodgings would count as a separate 'family', while most industrial workers would not. However, for many economic and domestic purposes, the census 'family' is a real unit, so that the numbers and sizes of such units are worth study.

Oxford City had 18,591 such families in 1931, Abingdon and Woodstock 2,296, and the 'rural' parts of the Area 8,175. Everywhere the family of three persons was the most numerous type, closely followed by families of two and four (see Figs. 19 and 20). There were no very marked differences in the proportions of families of different sizes in different parts of the Area, but the truly rural districts, such as the former rural districts of Headington and Culham, had a substantially larger proportion of their populations living in families of six or larger. The former urban district of Wheatley may perhaps be taken as typical of the new satellite villages; it had an unusually large proportion of its people living in families of two and three, and a very small proportion in families of six or larger. This feature was certainly due to the presence of large numbers of young married couples, living in modern bungalows and small houses. It remains to be seen whether it will persist as a permanent characteristic of this type of settlement.

Births and deaths.

We have already seen that the greater part of the growth of population in the Area since 1911, and especially since 1931, has been the result of a balance of immigration over emigration; the natural increase by way of excess of births over deaths has played a relatively unimportant part. Nevertheless, an investigation of the local death- and birth-rates brings out some interesting facts. The death-rates for 1911 and 1931 are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Death-rates per 1,000 of the population

	Number of deaths	Crude death-rate		Standardized death-rate*	
	Survey Area	Survey Area	England and Wales	Survey Area	England and Wales
1911	1,218	12.5	13.8	10.9	13.4
1931	1,291	10.5	11.9	8.5	9.7

* 'Standardized' death-rates are based on the age-composition of the national population in 1901, and are obtained by adjusting the crude figures to allow for age-compositions differing from that standard.

That the lower rates in the Oxford district were at both dates partly due to the favourable age-composition of its population is shown by the standardized rates. But it appears that, if the changes in age-composition be thus allowed for, Oxford was not so far ahead of the rest of the country in 1931 as it was in 1911, perhaps because something approaching 'saturation point' had been reached in 1931. Its absolute position had improved to the extent of a fall of 2.4 per 1,000 in the 'standardized' death-rate; it still retained a lead over the national average of 1.2 per 1,000, but the amount of improvement since 1911 had been considerably less than that in the country as a whole. At neither date were there significant differences between the standardized death-rates in the 'urban' and 'rural' parts of the Area.

On the other side, the main point to be noticed is the enormous fall in the birth-rate over the whole of the Area (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Birth-rates per 1,000 of the population, Survey Area

	<i>Annual average of births</i>	<i>Birth-rates</i>	
		<i>Crude</i>	<i>True</i>
1911-12 . . .	1981	20.4	200
1921-23 . . .	1786	17.4	166
1930-32 . . .	1860	15.3	133

Thus there were 121 less births in 1930-2 than in 1911-12, although the population had increased by more than a fifth.

These figures are themselves impressive, but the magnitude of the change becomes clearer when account is taken of the changes in the age-composition of the population and the proportion of married women in it. The 'true' birth-rate, that is, the number of births per 1,000 married women under 45, shows a fall of 33.5 per cent. since 1911.

The distribution of this fall in fertility over the Area is also interesting (see Fig. 21). In 1911-12 Oxford C.B. had a 'true' birth-rate of 186—by much the lowest in the district; it was followed by the other three 'urban' districts, with rates from 196 to 204 (average 202). The 'rural' districts ranged from 207 to 229 and averaged 225. By 1921-3 the Oxford C.B. rate had fallen to 154; the other three 'urban' districts averaged 178, and the 'rural' districts ranged from 179 to 200 and averaged 183. By 1930-2 the Oxford rate was down to 127, and that for Abingdon M.B. was still lower at 123, while Woodstock and Wheatley lagged behind at 151 and 165; the 'rural'

districts showed a spread from 124 (Culham) to 161 (Headington), and averaged 146.

Even these figures, however, do not present a perfectly complete picture. The fall in 'true' birth-rates has coincided with a rise in the

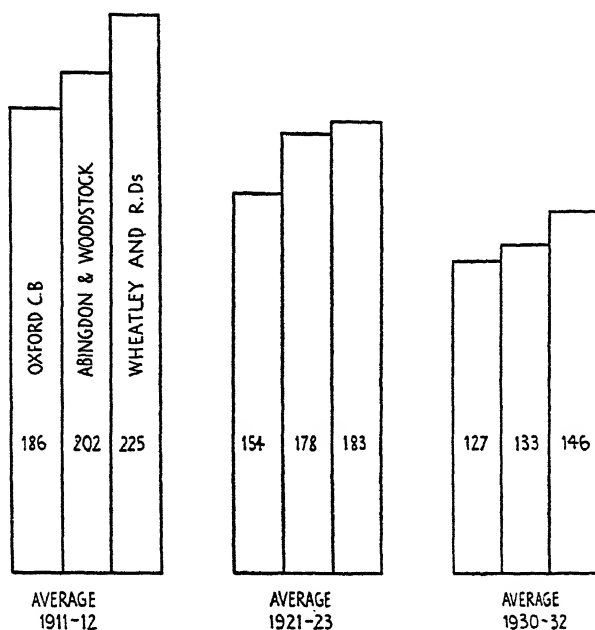


FIG. 21. Births per 1,000 Married Women under 45, 1911-12, 1921-3, 1930-2.

proportion of women in the age-groups 15-45 who are married (as compared with the unmarried, divorced, and widowed) from 40.8 per cent. in 1911 to 46.9 per cent. in 1931. This applies without exception to all the separate districts, though the change has been less marked in the 'rural' districts (47.6 to 52.8 per cent.) than in Oxford C.B. (37.2 to 44.6 per cent.) and in the other 'urban' districts (41.9 to 49.6 per cent.). Further, particularly between 1921 and 1931, there was a considerable increase in the proportion of married women who fall into the younger age-groups 20-30, among whom fertility might normally be expected to be high. This again is most marked in Oxford C.B., but applies to some extent to the 'rural' districts also. This means that the real fall in 'fertility of marriage' was probably considerably greater than appears from the figures of even the 'true' birth-rate.

Thus throughout the period since 1911 the 'true' birth-rates have

varied inversely with the degree of urbanization. The fall has been somewhat greater in the 'rural' than in the 'urban' districts, so that the gap between them has been narrowed, but this is probably accounted for by the permeation of 'urban' influences into the 'rural' districts, and by the greater lowering of the average age of married women in Oxford than elsewhere.

The fall in birth-rates has been to some slight extent off-set by a fall in infant mortality rates. For social purposes the net effect is perhaps best measured by the ratios of children under the age of 5 to married women under 45 (Table 5).

TABLE 5
Ratio of children under 5 to married women under 45

	1911	1931
Oxford C.B.	0.85	0.57
Other 'urban' districts	0.93	0.60
'Rural' districts	1.02	0.69
Whole Survey Area	0.92	0.61

Thus there were in 1931 only two-thirds as many young children to every married woman under 45 as there were in 1911. Even though this figure is only an average, it makes it possible to visualize a really considerable reduction in the domestic strain and preoccupation which results from the presence of numbers of small children in the family.

Since 1931, however, it is probable that there has been some recovery in the 'true' birth-rate. The number of births in the Area reached a minimum at 1,760 in 1932; it then began to rise rapidly, reaching 2,069 in 1935 and 2,326 in 1936. This gives a 'crude' birth-rate of somewhat over 16 for the latter year. The increase in numbers of births has been most striking in 'rural' districts which have been subject to suburbanization; in Abingdon R.D., for instance, there were about 200 births in 1931 and 254 in 1936. This is undoubtedly due to the presence of large numbers of young married couples in the satellite villages, but it may not be a permanent feature if these finally limit their families to two or three.

Residence and movement.

Two other characteristics of the population are of considerable importance from the point of view of local administration. First, how far is the population which happens to be enumerated in Oxford at census times permanently resident therein, and how far is it re-

cruited at other times by visitors? And secondly, how far, within the Area, does it tend to live in one place and work or amuse itself in another, thus requiring to a large extent a duplication of local government services, and, in some cases, avoiding payment of a fair share of their cost?

About the first question we have only very imperfect information. In 1931, 1,892 persons were enumerated in Oxford C.B. who were usually resident elsewhere, and 1,974 persons were enumerated elsewhere who were usually resident in Oxford. For the rest of the Area the numbers appear to have been about 1,325 and 1,550 respectively. These figures, however, do not really tell us much, for the census was not taken during the tourist season, and census definitions of 'residence' place in Oxford undergraduates and schoolboys, who are in reality there only for half or two-thirds of the year. The undergraduate population numbered in 1931 about 3,800 men and 800 women, of whom a small proportion really had homes in the city. There were also about 1,200 senior members of the university, of whom it is safe to assume that a half are normally absent, with their dependants, for most of the vacations; and there is a population in boarding-schools in Oxford and other parts of the Area, which may be estimated at between 1,200 and 1,500. It therefore appears that between 6,000 and 7,000 persons, at a minimum estimate, who are nominally resident in the Area, are actually absent from it for large parts of the year. Against this must be set children who are at school elsewhere, but spend holidays in Oxford, and visitors. There is no means of getting a reliable estimate of either of these totals, but, since the tourist and conference seasons largely coincide with the university vacations, they must tend to steady the average population rather than to swell it unduly at particular times. Thus, though there is a considerable coming to and going from the Area during the year, its population is not subject to such economically and administratively embarrassing fluctuations as are seen in such places as Southend and Bournemouth, and there is some indirect evidence which suggests that the net fluctuations are both absolutely and relatively less than they used to be.

Little information is available as to the extent of the daily movement within the Area from dormitory to work-place. It appears that about one-quarter of the employees at the Morris and Pressed Steel works live outside the boundaries of the city in which they work,¹ but it is not known whether this is a fair sample of all the workers of Oxford and Abingdon, manual and other. Probably the

¹ See Appendix IV.

proportion of clerical and professional workers who live outside is higher than this. It is clear that the volume of this daily movement is rapidly increasing, and its bearing upon local administration and finance is now becoming evident in Oxford, as it has already become elsewhere.

Enough has been said to show that the changes in population which have taken place in the Area in recent years are revolutionary in character. No thorough explanation of these changes can be attempted, however, within the limits of this chapter, since it is obvious that for such an explanation the industrial situation in the Area must be considered and this aspect of the Survey is dealt with in the chapters which follow. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of value to point out one or two lesser factors which have influenced the redistribution of population within the Area.

Amongst these lesser factors the comparative facilities in different parts of the Area for road transport may be mentioned. The new satellite villages of Kidlington, Wheatley, and Eynsham are all situated along classified 'A' roads, as is Woodstock, which is rapidly losing its autonomous character and becoming yet another residential satellite. Unless public planning of development is more effective in the future than in the past, it appears probable that all four places will soon be connected with Oxford by continuous lines of ribbon building along these roads. The completion, since the date of the 1931 census, of the northern by-pass road from Eynsham via Cassington, Wolvercote, and Marston to Headington, has opened up another large region to suburban influences. Of the 'rural' parishes in the Area, most of those which showed increases of population of more than 10 per cent. between 1921 and 1931 are traversed by classified roads, and, except on the extreme fringes of the Area, hardly any parishes so traversed showed declines or increases of less than 10 per cent.

Until very recently the distribution of new houses and settlement has been entirely unaffected by any element of public control. The sporadic development in villages all over the Area, which especially characterized the years just before and after 1931, was certainly partly accounted for by the failure of the supply of new houses in Oxford and the immediate neighbourhood to keep pace with the demand, and also by the prevalence of building, speculative or otherwise, by small firms, who could not afford to lay out compact estates. In the more recent phase of the last three or four years, construction in and adjoining Oxford itself has been accelerated, and increasingly undertaken by public authorities and by large-scale

speculative building firms, who are prepared to lay out regular estates with roads, drainage, and other amenities; sporadic development has simultaneously diminished. At the same time, a measure of deliberate control has been introduced through town planning, though it is too early as yet to say how far this will exercise any considerable force in moulding the distribution of population over the Area.

One other influence upon population movement needs to be noticed, namely, the spread into the country districts of industries and occupations more or less connected with Oxford as a centre. The rapid post-war growth of a cement industry at Bletchington, itself outside the Area, has affected the population of some of the northern parishes, such as Thrup and Kidlington. Market-gardening and fruit-growing, for the products of which Oxford is the chief market, have become important at Cumnor, Kingston Bagpuize, and elsewhere. The municipal activities of the city have extended beyond its own boundaries, as in the case of the sewage farm at Garsington and the new water works at Swinford Bridge in Cumnor parish; a new public assistance institution is being built at Kidlington and a municipal aerodrome has been constructed in the same parish. There is already a Royal Air Force aerodrome at Dry Sandford, which probably owes its existence to the needs of the University Air Squadron, and which has altered the whole character of the parish of St. Helen Without. At every point, indeed, the old distinction between the character and the administrative needs of the people of city and county is becoming blurred and fading away; economically and socially, though not yet administratively, the population of the whole of the Survey Area is being welded into a single unit.

PART II. ECONOMICS

INTRODUCTION

IN the chapter on population the phenomenal growth in recent years in the number of people living in the Survey Area has been measured. In this part it will be shown that this growth has been closely connected with the industrial development of Oxford, for it is the opportunities offered by this development which have been responsible for attracting the majority of those people who have come to the neighbourhood in recent years. The effect on the occupational distribution of the population will be analysed, and the repercussions of the new industrial features on the shopping facilities and the agricultural life of the Area will also be discussed.

The nature and significance of the recent changes may be briefly shown by indicating the outstanding industrial characteristics of Oxford and its neighbourhood before the War and at the present time. In the rural areas, right up to the walls of the city itself, agriculture was, before the War, the leading, indeed practically the only, industry. It is still the primary pursuit in the country-side, but the situation now differs in that a great many workers who live in the country look to manufacture and commerce, and not to the land, for their livelihood.

In Oxford itself printing was the leading industry before the War. The university has for hundreds of years been responsible for its maintenance in Oxford. The University Press, which was founded in 1585 with the aid of a loan of £100 from the university, dominated the trade in Oxford and was the only really big industrial unit in the city. The extent to which it has now been outdistanced by the motor industry is a measure of Oxford's changing face. It was, indeed, in occupations centring round the university that the people mainly worked before the War. A report of 1908¹ on the occupations of the 20,000 or so people working in Oxford at that date showed that the 'productive' work was, in the main, printing and building. There were in addition breweries, a marmalade factory, a cheap clothing factory, some book-binding and cabinet-making, but the greater part of the working population was engaged in the distributive trades and in the rendering of services. 'The shops, the places of business, the lodging-houses, the Colleges, find the population its work.'²

¹ Published by the Diocesan Social Service Committee.

² *Oxford Times*, October 21st, 1911, and cf. C. V. Butler, *Social Conditions in Oxford* (1912), pp. 38-9.

A considerable part of the employment before the War was due to the residential nature of the town, and for this the university was largely responsible. North Oxford developed towards the end of the nineteenth century, when enforced celibacy for the dons was abolished, and since that time retired professional people have been attracted to Oxford by the intellectual and cultural activities for which the existence of the university is responsible. This tendency is still apparent, and in recent years the residential character of the town has been accentuated by a fundamental change which has taken place in recent years in the character and functions of the university. The widening of the field of studies has made necessary a larger teaching staff, and the growth of research work is retaining in Oxford an ever-growing body of post-graduate workers.¹ This graduate population is resident in Oxford for a larger portion of the year than the undergraduate, so that the change is of considerable economic and social significance for the city.

In the aloof atmosphere of pre-war Oxford it is not surprising that there was no suspicion of the post-war industrialization of the city: 'We have, in all our plans of improvement for the future, to remember that Oxford is not among that class of towns where population is rapidly increasing; it is a residential city with peculiar attractions.'² But these peculiar attractions in their essentials still remain. The colleges and their gardens are still the main features of the centre of the town and the effect of the university on the life of the town is still apparent in innumerable ways, such as in the entertainments offered, in the diminished activity out of term in restaurants and bookshops, and in the participation of the university in all civic business and ceremonial. But new elements have been introduced into the city since the War. On the outskirts a new population drawn from all parts of the country and unfamiliar with the life and traditions of a university town has been established. A new class of shop—fixed-price stores and ready-made tailors—has come to meet the needs of this population. As well as these new features, and perhaps more noticeable than either of them, is the increase in traffic, which has brought with it problems of congestion and of damage to the foundations of the college buildings. The prime factor in bringing about these developments has been the establishment and growth of the motor industry. In contrast with the steady progress of printing, Oxford's old-established industry, has been the meteoric rise of

¹ There were about 850 graduates resident in Oxford in the Trinity Term of 1921. In 1937 there were 1,640 (figures from Residents' Lists).

² *Oxford Times*, March 17th, 1906.

its new one. Oxford is becoming part of the industrial midlands, sharing in the post-war prosperity of that region. By many people this development is deplored and the new elements it has brought into Oxford are resented, but the position cannot now be reversed, and there are signs that the old and the new are gradually adapting themselves to each other. Amongst such welcome signs must be accounted Lord Nuffield's magnificent benefactions to the university, only made possible by the prosperity of Oxford's new industry. A minor but encouraging symbol of the gradual fusion of the industrial elements into Oxford's life is the new Employment Exchange in St. Aldate's, which has been built in a style that harmonizes with the adjacent new head-quarters of St. Catherine's Society.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL IMMIGRATION¹

THE central fact around which this study of the economic and administrative development of Oxford revolves is the large expansion in the population of the city and its neighbourhood since the War. As has been shown in the preceding chapter, the increase in the population of the Survey Area in the post-war period was mainly due to immigration.² This influx of people into Oxford is only one example of the shifting of the industrial population which has been taking place in many parts of this country. The problems raised by these movements are multifarious, and discussion of them has recently been lively. The social consequences are perhaps the most serious. Only too often there is unemployment for those who remain at home and loneliness and discouragement for those who migrate in order to find work. In addition, there are repercussions on defence policy, on local government, and on urban and rural development. A detailed study of the immigration of insured workers into one district where the new elements in the population reach formidable proportions is, therefore, of particular interest at the present time.

Immigration and the insured population.

Most of the detailed information about immigration into Oxford had to be obtained from the statistics of insured workers. It is shown in the chapter on occupations that the insured population of the Survey Area numbered 40,890 in 1937, that is, about two-thirds of the occupied population and about 28 per cent. of the whole population.³ After allowance has been made for the introduction into the Unemployment Insurance Scheme since 1925 of juveniles under 16 and agricultural workers, there was, by 1937, an increase on the insured population in 1925 of 15,285, of which 'net immigration' (i.e. immigration less emigration and deaths of immigrants) provided

¹ We wish to record our gratitude to the Ministry of Labour for making it possible for us to undertake this inquiry by allowing us to scrutinize the unemployment insurance books exchanged at the annual count in July 1936, and to the officials of the Oxford Employment Exchange for their unfailing courtesy and help during the course of the inquiry. We are also indebted to Mr. H. W. Robinson of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics for compiling the Tables in Appendix I, note 10; to Miss H. Makower, also of the Institute of Statistics, for compiling Table 9 and the Table in Appendix I, note 15; and to Dr. F. Burchardt of All Souls College, Oxford, for his help in tabulating.

² See p. 27 above.

³ See p. 64 below.

over 60 per cent., i.e. 8,990 men and 360 women.¹ The increase not due to migration amounted to only 4,020 men and to 1,915 women. Estimates for the years before 1925 are less reliable as no statistics of insured workers in Oxford are available for these years, but a tentative calculation puts the net immigration to Oxford in the period 1921-5 at about 860, making a total net immigration into the city between the years 1921 and 1937 of c. 10,300.² It appears from the population statistics that the immigration of insured workers before 1921 must have been negligible. During the period 1921-37 the emigration of Oxford people is estimated to have amounted to about 2,300. The emigration during the year 1937 was unusually large, since it reached the comparatively high figure of about 450.

The immigration figures which have just been given show the number of insured workers in Oxford who came to the town after they were 16 years old. In order to discover where these immigrants came from it is necessary to make use of the concept of 'foreigners' adopted by the Ministry of Labour. For our purpose these are insured people who originally entered the Unemployment Insurance Scheme outside the Survey Area and who were working in Oxford in July 1936. It is apparent that these 'foreigners' are not necessarily identical with the immigrants involved in the above estimates, since in certain cases an immigrant may not be a 'foreigner', and vice versa. For example, an agricultural labourer from Somerset who came to Oxford and entered the motor industry would not rank as a 'foreigner', since he would take out his first unemployment insurance book in Oxford. It seems, however, that the discussion which follows is not materially affected by these anomalies and that the great bulk of the immigrants working in Oxford in 1936 were 'foreigners'.

By the courtesy of the Ministry of Labour we were able to examine all the 'foreign' unemployment insurance books which came into the Oxford Employment Exchange in July 1936, when the annual exchange of old books for new ones was made.³ The number of

¹ For detailed figures and a description of the methods used in making the estimates quoted see Appendix I, note 10.

² Including the non-insured occupied people (e.g. domestic servants) net migration into the Area may have amounted to from 21,000 to 22,000 in 1921-37. Including dependants (children, non-occupied wives, &c.) it has been calculated above (p. 27) at from 34,000 to 36,000.

³ Similar material was used in inquiries into labour mobility which have been carried out by Brinley Thomas (see his articles on the movement of labour into south-east England, *Economica*, 1934 and 1937; and also 'Labour Mobility in the South Wales and Monmouthshire Coal-mining Industry 1920-30', *Economic Journal*, June 1931) and by J. Jewkes and H. Campion (see their 'Note' on 'The Mobility of Labour in the Cotton Industry', *Economic Journal*, March 1928).

'foreigners' in Oxford whose place of origin was outside the Survey Area¹ amounted to over 11,000, a figure which, incidentally, is nearly the same as the total number of insured workers in the local motor industry, Oxford's largest industry. For the whole Area (i.e. including migration to Abingdon and Woodstock) the number of 'foreigners' in July 1936 may be estimated at about 12,000. A detailed analysis of 'foreigners' had, however, to be confined to the Oxford district.

The examination of 'foreign' books has not been repeated since 1936. The total number of 'foreigners' in Oxford in July of 1938 is, however, available. There was an increase of about 2,400 on July 1936, so that the number of 'foreigners' in the Oxford district in 1938 was about 13,500.¹

The magnitude of the industrial immigration to Oxford is seen from Table 6, where it is shown that 35 per cent. of the whole insured population of Oxford in July 1936 were 'foreigners'. This means

TABLE 6

'Foreigners' in Oxford in July 1936, according to sex and age

<i>Sex and age-group</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>		<i>Non-'foreigners'</i>		<i>All insured</i>	<i>'Foreigners' as % of all insured</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>		
Males:						
14 and under 16 .	164	1.5	973	4.6	1,137	14.4
16 " 18 .	215	1.9	1,145	5.4	1,360	15.8
18 " 21 .	627	5.8	1,284	6.1	1,911	32.8
21 " 65 .	9,144	82.6	12,130	57.5	21,274	43.0
Total males .	10,150	91.8	15,532	73.6	25,682	39.5
Females:						
14 and under 16 .	27	0.2	699	3.3	726	3.7
16 " 18 .	41	0.4	882	4.1	923	4.4
18 " 21 .	141	1.3	1,011	4.7	1,152	12.2
21 " 65 .	696	6.3	3,023	14.3	3,719	18.7
Total females .	905	8.2	5,615	26.4	6,520	13.9
Total .	11,055	100.0	21,147	100.0	32,202	35.4
Both sexes:						
14 and under 16 .	191	1.7	1,672	7.9	1,863	10.2
16 " 18 .	256	2.3	2,027	9.6	2,283	11.2
18 " 21 .	768	7.0	2,295	10.8	3,063	25.4
21 " 65 .	9,840	89.0	15,153	71.7	24,993	39.3
Total .	11,055	100.0	21,147	100.0	32,202	35.4

¹ Excluding people from Abingdon and Woodstock.

that one person in every three in insured employment in Oxford has come from another part of the country and in many cases was, on arrival, quite strange to the town and its inhabitants. This augmentation of the native industrial population has brought with it many social problems. The proportion of 'foreign' men is even more striking, for nearly half of the adult male insured population were 'foreign'. On the other hand, less than one-fifth of the adult women insured workers were 'foreigners'. This does not necessarily mean that the difference between the number of men and women moving to Oxford is equally great, because some of the female relatives accompanying the men immigrants will never have been in insured employment, and, of the remainder, many either are now in an insurable occupation but were not in insured work before they came to Oxford or, if they were previously insured, have not entered insured employment in this town. In considering the 'foreign' juveniles it should be noted that the number found in the count of 'foreign' books does not represent the share of juveniles in the annual immigration. For example, a boy of 18 who arrived in Oxford in 1933 would be 21 in 1936 and would consequently be counted as an adult in a count taken in that year. It may be estimated that juveniles formed one-tenth or so of the insured workers coming to Oxford in 1935 and 1936.¹ This conclusion is supported by the fact that juveniles formed 15.5 per cent. of the people from other districts who were placed in employment in Oxford through the Employment Exchange in 1937.

The industries of the immigrants.

The establishment and growth of the motor industry in Oxford have been the main factors in making the district a growing industrial centre, and Table 7 shows that this industry has been of primary importance in giving employment to 'foreigners'. Thus nearly half the motor workers were 'foreigners' and nearly half the 'foreigners' were motor workers. Although in absolute figures the motor industry absorbed more 'foreigners' than any other industry, it did not have the highest proportion of 'foreigners' amongst its workers. The high percentage in the omnibus service is possibly due to the degree of experience required by the drivers; local labour is therefore not quickly adaptable to this work. The same explanation probably accounts for the small proportion of young 'foreigners' in the omnibus service.

¹ For a description of the method used in arriving at this estimate see Appendix I, note 11. Throughout this discussion insurance years are used, e.g. the year 1933 runs from July 1932 to July 1933.

TABLE 7

'Foreigners' according to the industries in which they worked in Oxford in July 1936

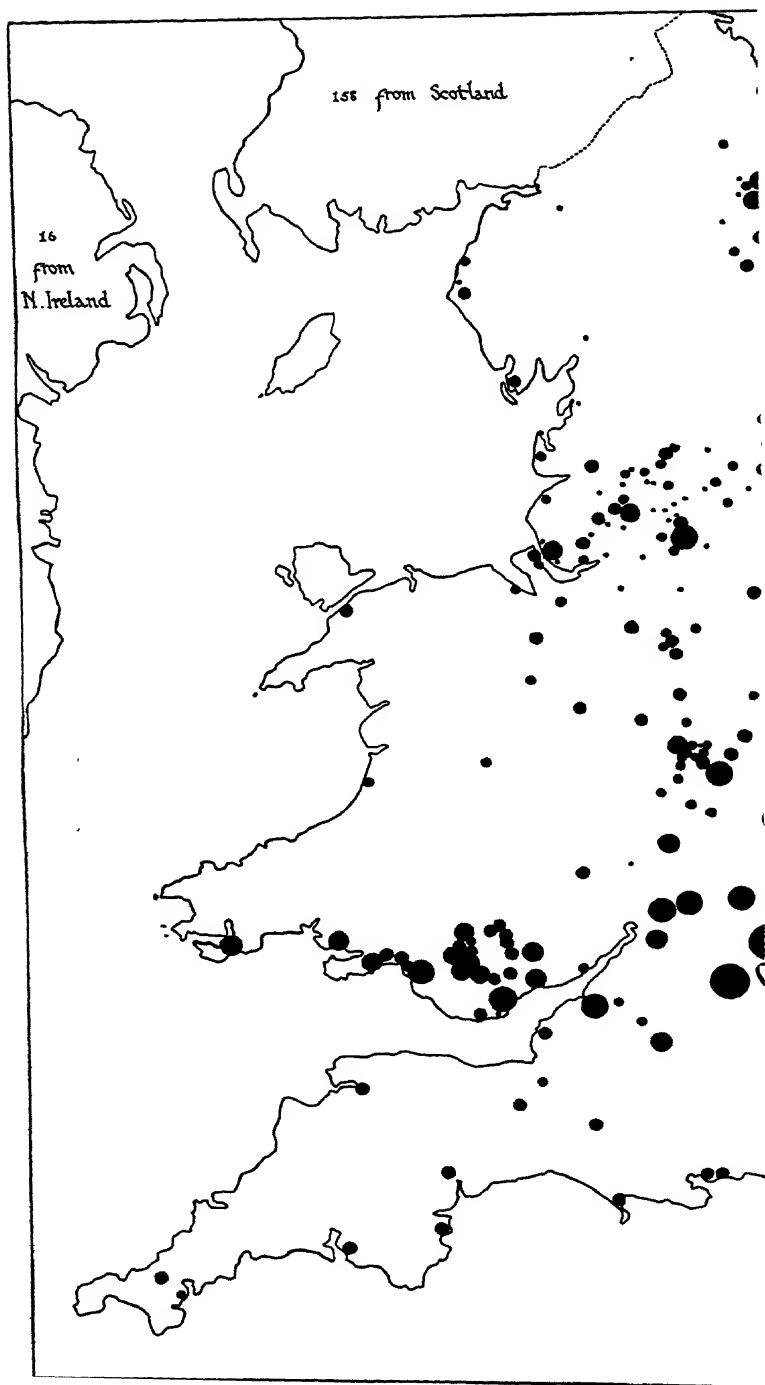
Industry	'Foreigners'		Non-'foreigners'		All insured	'Foreigners' as % of all insured
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total		
Motor	4,882	44.3	5,571	26.4	10,453	46.7
Building, <i>skilled</i>	618	5.5	1,487	7.0	2,105	29.3
„ <i>unskilled</i>	887	8.0	887	4.2	1,774	50.0
„ <i>all</i>	1,505	13.5	2,374	11.2	3,879	39.2
Distributive, <i>men</i>	1,135	10.3	2,546	12.0	3,681	30.8
„ <i>women</i>	376	3.4	2,069	9.8	2,445	15.4
„ <i>all</i>	1,511	13.7	4,615	21.8	6,126	24.7
Omnibus service	298	2.7	232	1.1	530	56.2
Others	2,859	25.8	8,355	39.5	11,214	25.5
Total	11,055	100.0	21,147	100.0	32,202	34.4

The marked difference between the proportion of 'foreigners' among building labourers and among the skilled building workers points to a considerable difference in the mobility of these two types of labour. Skilled men enjoy more stable conditions of employment than the unskilled, and are not so readily dismissed, so that the inducement to seek work in another place is weaker in their case.

The comparative immobility of women which has been mentioned explains the relatively small proportion of 'foreigners' found in the distributive trades, for this is an industry in which women are largely employed.

In the distributive trades young people formed an unusually high proportion (one-fifth) of the 'foreigners'. This may be because they pass into it temporarily before seeking employment as motor workers. This supposition is supported by an examination of the movement of 'foreigners' between one industry and another during the year July 1935-July 1936.¹ The change under discussion is that between the industry in which the person worked in July 1935 and that in which he worked in July 1936, as any intermediate changes are not recorded. More than one-seventh of the entrants to the motor industry came from the distributive trades, and more than half of these 112 people were boys and young men under the age of 21. The number of entrants to the distributive trades was not sufficient to offset the wastage of young people from it and there was, there-

¹ See Table in Appendix I, note 12.



fore, a net loss to this employment of some 60 'foreign' people. The changes studied illustrate the constant shift of unskilled labour between building and its kindred industries. The movements between building, contracting, and local and national government service (which covers such work as road-building) account for nearly 300 cases, or one-seventh of all changes recorded.

The main impression given by the figures is the absorption of workers from other industries by the expanding motor industry. Although insured women are considerably less mobile in space than men (see Table 6) there is not a significant difference between men and women in what may be called 'inter-industrial' mobility.

The places of origin of the immigrants.

The accompanying map shows the places of origin of the 'foreigners' working in Oxford in July 1936.¹ It shows the original office at which the worker entered the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, but it does not throw any light on intermediate stages of migration, if any, as these are not recorded in the material on which the map is based. Table 8 summarizes the information shown on the map by grouping the 'foreigners' according to the geographical divisions in which the Employment Exchange system is organized. The Oxford

TABLE 8

'Foreigners' in Oxford in July 1936, according to division of origin

Division	'Foreigners'		'Foreigners' in the motor industry	
	Number	% of total	Total	Living outside the Survey Area*
South-West . . .	4,058	36.7	1,624	1,099
Wales . . .	1,195	10.8	566	30
London . . .	1,178	10.7	376	..
South-East . . .	995	9.0	467	..
Midlands . . .	911	8.2	448	..
North-East . . .	639	5.8	324	..
North-West . . .	518	4.7	280	..
Scotland . . .	158	1.4	90	..
Northern Ireland . . .	16	0.1	2	..
Retired from H.M. Forces† . . .	1,387	12.6	705	..
Total . . .	11,055	100.0	4,882	1,129

* Based on the inquiry about the residential distribution of workers in the motor industry, see Appendix IV.

† The books issued to these people are marked with a conventional symbol which has no geographical significance.

¹ The full list of places is given in Appendix I, note 13.

Employment Exchange district is in the south-west division near the frontiers of the south-east and midlands divisions. It is apparent that distance was the predominant factor influencing migration. This becomes even more obvious if the Employment Exchange districts are grouped according to their distance from Oxford.¹ It is then found that 4,154 people came from districts which were within fifty miles of Oxford. Districts between fifty and a hundred miles away sent 3,292 people, while only 2,222 migrants came from districts which were over a hundred miles from Oxford. Difference in prosperity as between areas does not appear to be the primary consideration in directing the movements of migrants. More than one-third of the 'foreigners' came into the Survey Area from the relatively prosperous south-west division, while the distressed regions in the north of England sent to Oxford very few people compared with South Wales, the nearest Special Area. Moreover, London sent as many people as South Wales. It is true that the migration from the neighbouring areas is not entirely made up of immigrants in the sense of people who have changed both their homes and their places of work.² However, even if such people were excluded it would still remain true that migration has been greatly affected by distance. This comes out clearly if the number of insured migrants from each division is related to the unemployment in that division, as is done in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Divisional distribution of 'foreigners' in Oxford in July 1936 related to unemployment

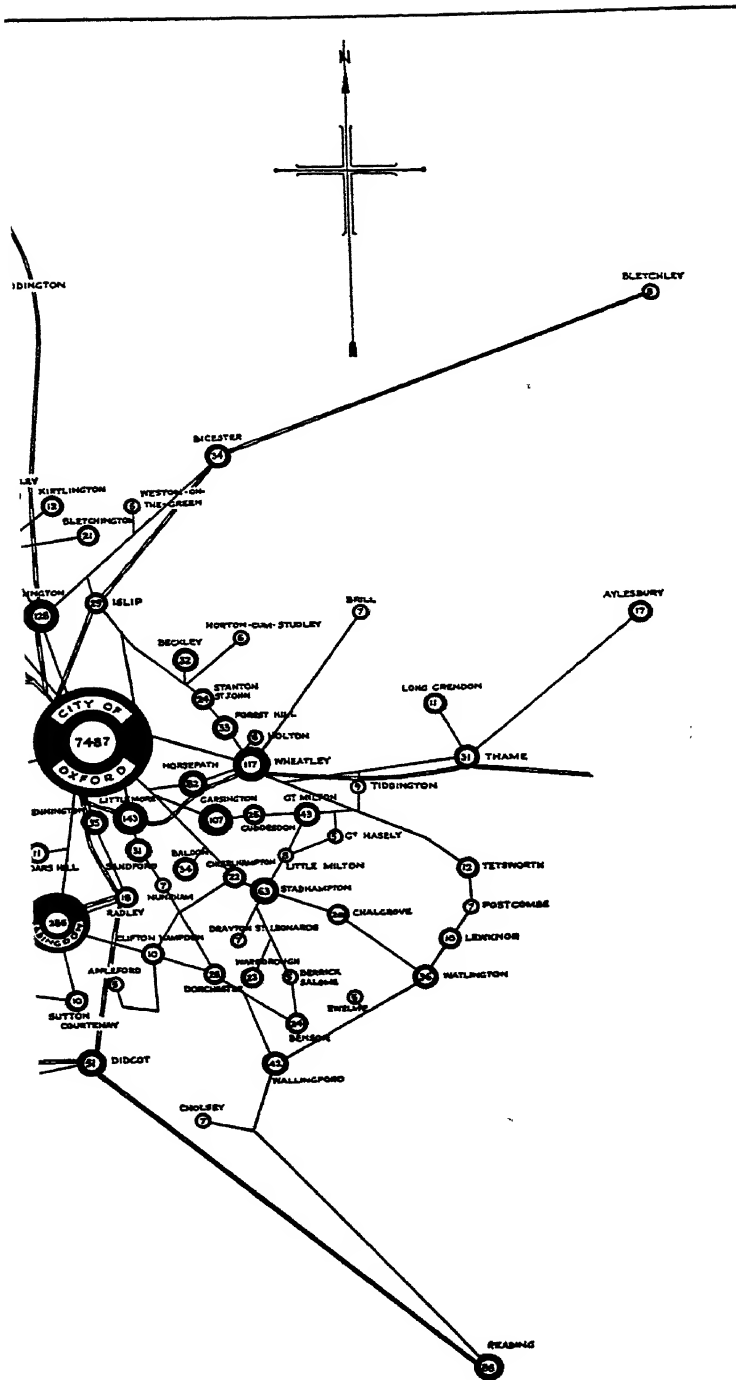
<i>Division</i>	<i>Numbers unemployed, annual average* 1921-36</i>	<i>Number of migrants to Oxford</i>	<i>Number of migrants per 1,000 unemployed</i>
South-West† .	85,364	4,058	47.5
South-East .	78,793	995	12.6
Wales . .	154,997	1,195	7.7
London . .	203,202	1,178	5.8
Midlands . .	231,959	911	3.9
North-East .	397,032	639	1.6
North-West .	382,940	518	1.4
Scotland . .	254,827	158	0.6
Northern Ireland	59,125	16	0.3

* Weighted average. The weight used was the total immigration to Oxford in each year. Allowance was made for retirements, deaths, and re-emigration of migrants in each year.

† Excluding Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock.

¹ See Appendix I, note 13.

² See the last two columns of Table 8 and Appendix I, note 14.



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† Excluding Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock.

¹ See Appendix I, note 13.

² See the last two columns of Table 8 and Appendix I, note 14.

Table 10 shows that while the proportion of women (8.2 per cent.) among 'foreigners' was much smaller than among non-'foreigners', women have played very different parts in the immigration from the various parts of the kingdom.

TABLE 10

Proportion of women and young persons among 'foreigners' in Oxford in July 1936, according to division

Division	Percentage of 'foreigners' from each division	
	Women, all ages	Both sexes, 14-21
South-West	8.0	17.2
Wales	4.1	11.1
London	16.2	8.0
South-East	9.8	8.4
Midlands	10.1	5.9
North-East	8.2	11.9
North-West	12.8	9.0
Scotland	13.9	11.3
All divisions	8.2	11.1
Non-'foreigners', % of total .	26.4	28.2

The small share of women in immigration from Wales compared with London, the south-west, and the midlands was presumably due to the importance of the distributive trades in London and the textile industry in Lancashire, as opposed to Welsh coal-mining. Further analysis showed that a particularly large proportion (14.5 per cent.) of immigrants from the south-west were males between 14 and 21 years of age. On the other hand, the midlands, although also adjacent to the Oxford district, could not afford to send young men and boys since there was, in that division, a keen demand for this class of labour.

The motor industry absorbed the largest proportion of immigrants from each division, but this proportion was much lower in the case of London than in any other division, particularly the northern ones (Fig. 23). Looking at the matter from another angle, only 8 per cent. of the 'foreigners' who entered the motor industry were Londoners, whereas 17 per cent. of those in the distributive trades came from London. An interesting difference between the skilled and unskilled workers in the building trades may be pointed out: whereas among Welsh people in Oxford there were nearly twice as many building labourers as craftsmen, London and the north-west sent more skilled than unskilled workers.

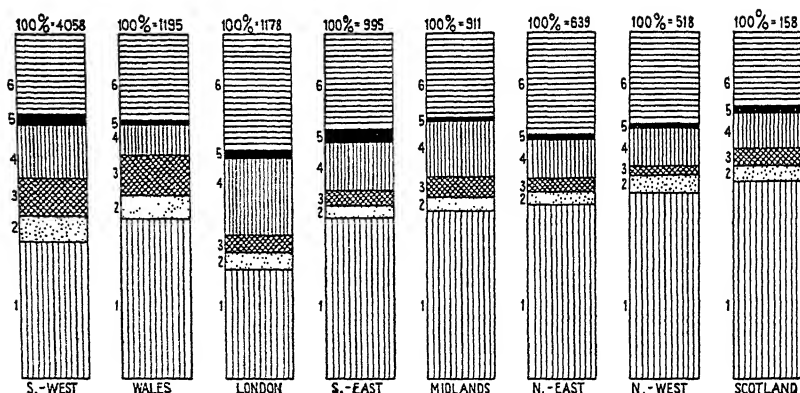


FIG. 23. 'Foreigners' in Oxford in July 1936. Percentages from Each Division according to Industry Entered. Key: 1. Motor; 2. Building, skilled; 3. Building, unskilled; 4. Distributive; 5. Omnibus service; 6. Others.

Generally speaking, the greater the distance from Oxford the greater was the uniformity with which the migration to Oxford was spread over the Employment Exchange districts.¹ To Scotsmen, whether Highlanders or Lowlanders, who propose to emigrate to the south of England, Oxford is only one among many possible destinations, but to prospective emigrants from the districts near to the Survey Area, the most usual choice lies between Oxford and perhaps only two or three other towns. Because of these considerations Scotland sent a few people to Oxford from each of many districts, whereas most of the 'foreigners' from the south-west division came from only a few districts.

There was, however, irrespective of distance, a marked tendency for migrants to come in 'lumps' from certain communities, and the presumption is that the influence of personal connexions was powerful in bringing this about. While the 'lumpiness' of migration streams may have militated against a more rational and complete distribution of man-power in accordance with the shifts in the demand for labour, the social advantages it entails must not be forgotten. It is much easier for an immigrant to reconcile himself to his new home if he finds himself among old friends or neighbours. It is, however, sometimes said that such conditions may themselves give rise to a new social problem, since they may hinder the assimilation of the new elements of the population by the old.

Some examples of comparatively heavy emigration to Oxford

¹ An attempt to measure the 'spatial spread of migration' is described in Appendix I, note 15.

from a particular place emerged from the detailed analysis of the Welsh migration. Nearly half the 1,200 Welsh 'foreigners' in Oxford came from the following six Employment Exchange districts (Table 11).

TABLE 11
Migration from selected Welsh districts

<i>District</i>	<i>Number of emigrants</i>
Maesteg	215
Cardiff	73
Bargoed	69
Ferndale	66
Newport	59
Treorchy	52
Total	534

The greater part (150, i.e. one-sixth of all Welsh 'foreigners' in Oxford) of the immigration from the Maesteg district was from Pontycymmer, a small mining village. It was thought that it would be worth while to investigate the reasons for this striking concentration, and inquiries were therefore made of social and survey workers in South Wales. The evidence collected supports the view that information obtained through friends and relations is a potent factor influencing the destination of migrants. The flow from Pontycymmer to Oxford appears to have started in 1926 when a few men made the journey, found employment, and subsequently heard of jobs in their new home for their friends or members of their families. Since then Oxford has attracted a large percentage of the people leaving Pontycymmer in search of work. In the period 1930-6 (November), out of 1,841 people whose unemployment insurance books were transferred from the Employment Exchange at Pontycymmer to another exchange, 270, or 15 per cent., went to Oxford, and it was stated by local observers that the percentage in earlier years was still higher, probably about 25 per cent. Since only 150 people from Pontycymmer were found among the 'foreigners' in Oxford in 1936, a good proportion of the immigrants from Pontycymmer must have either returned home (but apparently only a few did this) or moved on to seek work in another town, probably in London or in one of the new industrial centres in the south and south midlands.

Pontycymmer provides the most remarkable instance (outside the districts round the Survey Area) of a large batch of migrants coming to Oxford from a small town or district. Even a place like Ferndale in Glamorganshire, which contributed quite a fair number of the

'foreigners' counted in 1936, sends to Oxford only a small proportion of its total annual emigration; in 1936 (eleven months only) out of 193 transferred books, only 11 were sent to Oxford.

State-aided transference.

Unemployed insured workers from the Special Areas may obtain assistance from the Employment Exchanges through the Industrial Transference Scheme which was started in 1928. In addition to help in getting him a job and to the loan or the gift of his fare, the assistance given extends to the payment of the expenses of the removal of the dependants and household effects of the transferee. Grants may also be made towards his maintenance for the first weeks after his arrival in the new area. In the case of the Oxford Exchange district hardly any use was made of the Scheme until 1933, when 13 families were assisted to move into the area. Since that year the annual number of transference cases has increased and, by the end of 1936, 186 families in all had received help under the Household Removal Scheme.

The number of families from each division is given in Table 12.

TABLE 12
Family transference

<i>Division</i>	<i>Number of families transferred</i>
South-West	1
Wales	115
North-East	34
North-West	32
Scotland	4
Total	186

Pontycymmer was again prominent among the Welsh places of origin, since 30 families were transferred from that town.

A very high proportion of the Welsh transferees were coal-miners. In 79 families of the 115 from Wales, the head of the family had previously worked in the coal industry. The motor industry and the unskilled ranks of the building trade each absorbed about one-third of the total number (86) of coal-miners who were transferred. The building and contracting trades in Oxford absorbed nearly all the men, 22 in number, who had worked in building in their old home. Evidently there has been sufficient demand for labour in this employment for experienced building workers to enter it as soon as they arrive in Oxford, and there is no inducement therefore for these men

to take up jobs in a new industry. The remainder of the transferees came from a variety of industries, but chiefly from those which were most seriously affected by the trade depression, e.g. cotton. The motor industry took nearly one-half (84) of the transferred men and the building and contracting trades found work for one-third (65, mostly labourers). Most of the rest were absorbed by the minor manufacturing industries of Oxford. As these figures show, nearly all the transferees entered unskilled occupations, and it is mainly workers of this type that the Industrial Transference Scheme benefits. In Oxford there is not a big demand outside building and printing for skilled labour, and such vacancies for craftsmen as occur in these two industries can normally be filled locally. In any case they cannot usually be filled by men who have worked in the staple industries centred in the depressed areas. Largely for this reason, the Oxford Employment Exchange did not initiate transference in any instance; it has been found that the inflow of labour has been sufficient to fill the unskilled jobs without official stimulus. In every case of the 186 families, the head of the family found work for himself before he applied for help under the Industrial Transference Scheme. The Scheme is confined to married men and men with dependants, and nearly all the cases assisted were young couples whose children, if any, were beneath the wage-earning age. This is an additional reason why skilled men are rarely found among the transferees, since for some years young men in the depressed areas have not entered occupations where apprenticeship is necessary.

The Scheme for the transference of juveniles (boys and girls from 14 to 17 years of age) is very much more elaborate than that for adults, since it involves supervision by Ministry of Labour officials until the age of 18 is reached. In the two years 1935 and 1936, 65 boys and 40 girls were transferred under this Scheme to the area covered by the Oxford Exchange and its branches. Their divisions of origin are shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13
Juvenile transference

<i>Division</i>	<i>Number of juveniles transferred</i>
South-West	11
Wales	73
North-East	18
North-West	3
Total	105

Of these 105 juveniles, 47 subsequently left the neighbourhood.

Nearly all the girls became domestic servants. The proportion of boys who entered uninsurable employment was high, too, since 27 of them also entered domestic service. Half of the remainder were given employment in shops, hotels, and restaurants, while the others mainly went into the brick- and stone-making industry, but usually only for a short period.

Conclusion.

It appears from the investigation into industrial migration into Oxford which has been discussed in this chapter that Oxford has drawn its workers very largely in recent years from neighbouring districts and not notably from depressed areas. It is true, of course, that a decline in employment in Wales has coincided with the growth of the Oxford motor industry and that a number of Welshmen have come to Oxford, but the migration from the other areas of industrial depression has been comparatively small. A high proportion of the northern immigrants are skilled men and are not therefore part of the large army of semi-skilled and unskilled workers employed in the motor industry.

The flow of immigrants to Oxford is characterized by batches of people from certain places, in whose plans the primary influence has evidently been that of friends and relatives. Distance, too, has obviously been a powerful regulator of migration. The Schemes of transference from the Special Areas appear to have been a significant factor only in the case of juveniles. It may be that the growing tendency to favour the establishment of new industries in depressed regions, rather than the transference of workers from them, will check the expansion of the official Schemes, but so long as there is great discrepancy between the prosperity of developing and depressed areas the problem of regulating the migration of labour and of facilitating adaptation to new conditions will remain.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONS¹

THE population of the Survey Area, according to the estimate given in a previous chapter, amounted in 1937 to 146,904. The purpose of the present chapter is to give a statistical account² of the occupations in which these people were mainly engaged. Only a rough estimate can be made of the number who are gainfully occupied since no figures exist for recent years,³ but the proportion is probably between 40 and 50 per cent. of the total population.

TABLE 14
Occupied population, 1931

	Males			Females		
	Survey Area*		England and Wales	Survey Area*		England and Wales
	Number	%	%	Number	%	%
Total	59,465	..	..	62,426	..	..
Total aged 14 years and over	43,538	100·0	100·0	46,848	100·0	100·0
1. Occupied aged 14 years and over	35,494	81·5	90·5	15,967	34·0	34·0
(a) Insured . . . . .	..	51·5	54·5	..	12·5	18·5
(b) Non-insured . . . . .	..	30·0	36·0	..	21·5	15·5
2. Unoccupied and retired aged 14 years and over	8,044	18·5	9·5	30,881	66·0	66·0

* As regards the Survey Area, the area covered by the figures of insured workers is not quite conterminous with that covered by the figures relative to the occupied population. See Appendix I, note 17.

The comparatively low proportion of occupied males in the Survey Area is due to the fact that the 1931 census, upon which it is based, was taken in term-time and the figures include, therefore, the technically 'unoccupied' undergraduates. The floating population of the university amounts to about 5,000. If this number were eliminated from the table the proportion of occupied to unoccupied persons in

¹ The author would like to express his gratitude to the Ministry of Labour officials in the Employment Exchanges at Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock for their co-operation in the collection of material for this chapter.

² For an account of the statistical sources used see Appendix I, note 17.

³ In compiling Table 14 it was necessary to use the results of the population census taken in 1931.

the Survey Area would be practically the same as in England and Wales.

The proportions of people insured under the Unemployment Insurance Scheme in 1931 are also shown in the table. The figures of the insured population are not strictly comparable with those of the occupied population, since the latter are based on the place of residence while the former usually relate to the place of work. In the great majority of cases, however, in a district the size of the Survey Area the distinction is not a significant one.¹

Since 1931, juveniles aged 14 and 15 and agricultural workers have been brought into the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, so that probably about two-thirds of the occupied population were insured in 1937.

The sex and age grouping of the insured population in 1937 is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15
Insured population, 1937

<i>Sex and age</i>	<i>Survey Area</i>		<i>Great Britain and Northern Ireland</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Males:			
14 and under 16 . .	1,533	3.7	3.5
16 " 18 . .	2,027	5.0	4.8
18 " 21 . .	2,108	5.2	5.1
21 " 65 . .	27,661	67.6	59.2
Females:			
14 and under 16 . .	935	2.3	2.7
16 " 18 . .	1,247	3.0	3.7
18 " 21 . .	1,191	2.9	3.8
21 " 65 . .	4,188	10.3	17.2
Total . . .	40,890	100.0	100.0

Both this table and Table 14 show that the proportion of occupied women who are insured is lower in the Survey Area than on the average for the country. The explanation is the high proportion of domestic servants in Oxford, due to the residential nature of part of the town. In 1931, 38 per cent. of the occupied women in Oxford were servants (not including college servants). In England and Wales the proportion was only 26 per cent., and in a purely industrial town like Coventry it was even smaller (under 13 per cent.). Including college servants and taking men and women together the dis-

¹ An idea of the importance of the distinction may be obtained from the report on the residential distribution of Oxford's motor workers. See Appendix IV.

crepancy remains much the same, since 11 per cent. of Oxford's occupied people are then found to be in domestic service, compared with 7 per cent. in England and Wales. Because so many women in Oxford were either landladies or in service, the ratio of occupied women to occupied men was rather higher in Oxford than it was in England and Wales; in the former it was 49 to 100 and in the latter 42 to 100.

During the last half-century or so many retired people have come to live in Oxford. It is difficult to give statistical confirmation of the residential nature of Oxford as the category in the population census tables which gives the number of retired people is not subdivided, so that the well-to-do retired are numerically overshadowed by retired wage-earners. Since Oxford is a young town, industrially, the number of retired wage-earners must be low, and this factor, combined with that of the university's floating population, makes the proportion of retired people in Oxford lower than in England and Wales as a whole, that is, 4.6 per cent. of the total population, aged 14 and over, as against 5.5 per cent. Comparison may be made with Coventry, another young industrial town, whose main industry is similar to that of Oxford, and where in 1931 only 2.9 per cent. of the population, 14 years and over, was retired. Nevertheless, the impression that Oxford is the resort of many retired civil servants and people of similar social position is too strong to be readily abandoned.

The occupation of research and teaching is naturally an important one in Oxford, and the professions which are engaged in it are better represented in Oxford than in the country as a whole. Figures for three of the more important professional occupations are given in Table 16.

TABLE 16

Numbers occupied in certain professions, 1931

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Number per 1,000 of the occupied population</i>	
	<i>Oxford</i>	<i>England and Wales</i>
Education	75	7
Medicine	17	6
Religion	10	4

The university students do not only require teaching; they have, in a number of cases, to be housed outside the colleges. The business of keeping lodgings is therefore a flourishing one, and, in 1931, 23 people per thousand occupied were engaged in it in Oxford as against 6 in England and Wales.

The hotel, restaurant, and lodging-house service is closely connected with the university, not only because it is concerned with undergraduates but also because of the large tourist traffic. The number of insured people engaged in this service in 1937 in the Survey Area was, however, only the same proportion (2.8 per cent.) of the total insured population as in Great Britain as a whole (3 per cent.), and its increase between 1925 and 1937 was 141 per cent. as against 151 per cent. Probably the increasing facility with which day-trips can be made to Oxford from London has discouraged expansion of the local hotel trade.

An industry whose establishment was due to the university and which still has a large interest in that institution is book and letterpress printing and bookbinding. A very much larger percentage (3.9) of people were employed in these trades in Oxford in 1931 than in the country as a whole (0.9 per cent.). Employment in the printing, publishing, and bookbinding industry in Oxford has for several years past pursued a steady course, not affected by conspicuous changes. The number of insured workers (aged 16-64) it employed rose from 1,210 in 1925 to 1,593 in 1937, an increase of 32 per cent. as against 20 per cent. in Great Britain as a whole.

Oxford has for several years been a rapidly growing community.¹ The rate of increase in its insured population (16-64) between 1925 and 1937 was 81 per cent., which far outstripped the growth in the insured population of Great Britain (18.3 per cent.). This growth is due, both directly and indirectly, to the development of the motor industry. This industry is of comparatively recent establishment in Oxford, but it has developed so rapidly that this district is now one of the most important centres of the industry in the country. Its importance for the Survey Area can be judged from the fact that in 1937 29.4 per cent. of the total insured population of the Area was engaged in the motor industry, while the corresponding percentage for Great Britain was only 2.4 per cent.² The population census of 1931 shows that there were 131 people in the motor industry per 1,000 of the total occupied population of Oxford, and 12 per 1,000 in England and Wales. The expansion of the motor industry has been very much faster in the Survey Area than in Great Britain as a whole, for in the case of the former the number of insured workers (16-64) increased by 201 per cent. in the period 1925-37, while in the latter the percentage increase was 66.3.

¹ See Fig. 24, p. 67.

² The Ministry of Labour's industry classification is 'Construction and Repair of Motor Vehicles, Cycles, and Aircraft'.

1925=100

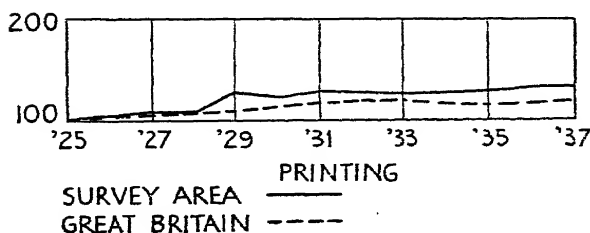
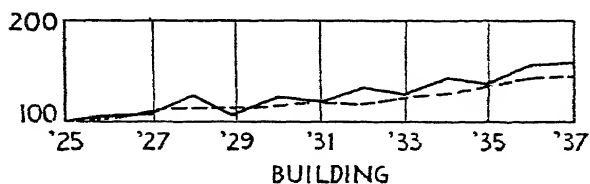
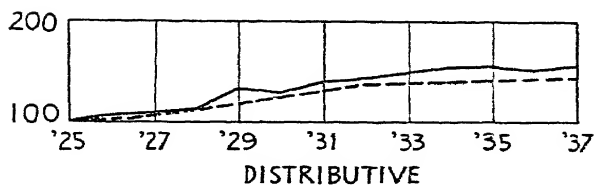
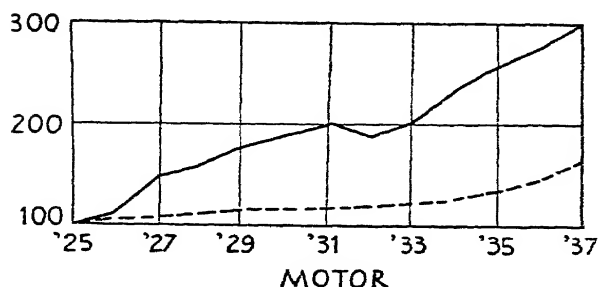
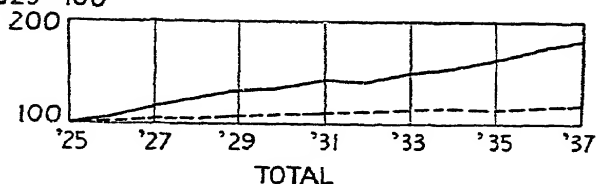


FIG. 24. Insured Workers (16-64) in All Industry and in Selected Industries in the Survey Area and in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1925-37.

Building and agriculture were the only other main industry groups in the Area in 1937 in which the proportion of people engaged was significantly larger than the national average.¹

The exceptional position of building is, of course, due to the growth of the city and thus mainly to the development of the motor industry. The percentage of workers in the building industry in 1931 was 6.6 in Oxford and 4.5 in England and Wales, whereas in 1937 11.7 per cent. of the insured workers in the Survey Area were employed in the building industry, as against 6.8 per cent. in Great Britain as a whole.² In the period 1925-37 the number of insured employees (16-64) in the building industry in Great Britain increased by 43 per cent., that is by considerably more than the increase in all insured workers. The development in the Survey Area was even more rapid and the number of insured building workers (16-64) grew from 2,970 in 1925 to 4,652 in 1937, an increase of 56 per cent.

The insured workers engaged in agriculture (including all forms of gardening) in the Survey Area in 1937 accounted for 7.4 per cent. of the total insured population, as against 4.7 per cent. in Great Britain.

The distributive trades employed, in 1937, the second largest number of insured workers in the Survey Area. Despite the growth of the population of Oxford and its neighbourhood in recent years, the size and development of this industry conform to the national average. With 17.2 per cent. of the total insured population of the Survey Area in their employment in 1937, the distributive trades were relatively only slightly more important here than in Great Britain, and the increase of 56 per cent. in their insured employees (16-64) between 1925 and 1937 was not much greater than the increase in Great Britain (44 per cent.).

In spite of the large motor industry serving national and foreign markets, Oxford is even now much less dependent on markets outside its own neighbourhood than is the case on the average of other districts in England and Wales. In order to estimate the number of people occupied in catering mainly for the needs of the local population, the workers engaged in the following industries in Oxford in 1931 were added together: retail trade, dress industry, personal service, local government service, entertainments, and the building industry. The result showed that Oxford was in an entirely different

¹ See Table in Appendix I, note 16.

² The figures for the two years 1931 and 1937 are not, of course, strictly comparable, since the figures for 1931 refer to Oxford and the occupied population and those for 1937 to the Survey Area and the insured population. However, the comparison of insurance figures for the whole period in the areas concerned conveys substantially the same impression.

category from a purely industrial town like Coventry. Whereas the percentage of Oxford's occupied population engaged in these industries was 41.7 per cent., in Coventry it was only 20.1, while for England and Wales the percentage was 33.4. The most influential factor in this result was the larger proportion of domestic servants in Oxford.

The occupied population of the Survey Area is largely urban. In 1931 Oxford contained 73 per cent. of the occupied people of the Area and Abingdon and Woodstock accounted for 6.7 per cent. and 1.3 per cent. respectively. Thus, under 20 per cent. of the occupied population lived in the country. An even smaller proportion would have worked in the country, since while many people come daily from the surrounding villages to work in Oxford, the number who reverse this process must be very small. Nearly one-third (28 per cent.) of the occupied men who lived in the rural districts in 1931 were engaged in agricultural occupations. The remainder were chiefly in employment connected with the motor industry and in building and transport.

In the Abingdon and Headington Rural Districts,¹ building and transport each accounted for about 10 per cent. of the occupied men, but in Culham Rural District they only absorbed 10 per cent. together, a reflection of the more agricultural nature of this district, where over 37 per cent. of the working males were employed on the land. In each of the three urban areas of Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock, transport, commerce, and building accounted between them for about one-third of the occupied males. The importance of the glove industry in Woodstock is shown by the large proportion (21 per cent.) of the occupied population (both sexes) which was engaged in it. Motor-car manufacture was of primary importance in Abingdon as well as in Oxford. In the former town, 12 per cent. of the occupied men were employed in it, compared with 14 per cent. in Oxford.

More than half of the occupied women of the Area were engaged in personal service, i.e. in domestic service, restaurants, hotels, laundries, and hairdressing. In Abingdon and Woodstock the percentage so employed was smaller than in the other parts of the Area because of the rival attractions in the one town of the clothing factory² and in the other of the glove industry. The influence of the residential nature of Boars Hill and Cumnor is reflected in the figure of 23.5

¹ The changes which have taken place since 1931 in the areas and nomenclatures of the rural districts forming part of the Survey Area are set out in Appendix III.

² This factory has since closed down.

domestic servants per 100 families in Abingdon Rural District, a figure which was only surpassed by Oxford with 24.9 per cent. These figures may be compared with those of 14.1 to 20.8 in other parts of the Area and 14.4 in England and Wales.

It appears from this brief description of the occupational distribution of the people in the Survey Area that, compared with other places, the Area offers a limited variety, as distinct from amount, of employment to men, while women have a good many occupations open to them. This is largely because of the extent to which the manufacturing side of Oxford's activities is concentrated on the motor industry. Other manufacturing industries, with the exception of printing, are hardly represented at all in the Area.¹ On the other hand, people engaged in personal service are relatively more numerous here than in the country as a whole, a feature which is due to the presence of the university.

¹ See Table in Appendix I, note 16.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRY¹

THE data discussed in the preceding pages with regard to immigration and occupations have shown the importance in Oxford's industrial life of the motor industry. Its importance lies not only in the large number of people it employs, but also in its organization. Production is concentrated in the hands of only two firms, and large-scale enterprise which, except for the University Press, had been non-existent in Oxford before the War, has brought with it problems of employment and unemployment which had been unknown before. In a group of 1,416 firms, covering 26,700 insured workers, 80 per cent. in 1935 employed 10 workers or less, but the influence of these small firms in the industrial life of Oxford is overshadowed by that of the handful of big enterprises. Some details will be given of the size and production of the larger industrial units in order to convey a more exact impression of their importance.

The leading industrial undertakings of the Area.

The close and long-established connexion of the University Press with the university has already been mentioned.² It employs between 800 and 900 people, that is, between 45 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the total number of insured employees in the Area in the printing, publishing, bookbinding, and photography trades. The firms in these trades are rather larger than the average, for in 1935, 17 out of 40 firms had more than 10 workers. Even so, the whole industry in the neighbourhood is dominated by the University Press. Bookbinding is an important satellite trade of printing. The oldest firm in Oxford specializing in this trade was established in 1730 and still occupies the same premises and uses some of the original tools. Apart from publisher's binding, which is an important section of the work of the University Press, almost all the binding work in Oxford is done for local customers, supreme amongst whom are the college libraries and the Bodleian. The Press does a world-wide trade, since its publications, for which it does its own printing and binding, are not limited to the productions of Oxford University. Oxford is prominent in the early history of the newspaper trade

¹ The writers of this chapter are indebted to many firms and individuals in Oxford for the provision of information. We wish to thank them all for their courtesy, and in particular we may mention Morris Motors Ltd. and the Pressed Steel Company.

² P. 47 above.

as well as in that of book printing, for the oldest existing English newspaper began as the *Oxford Gazette* in 1665 and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* was a leading provincial weekly for many years in the eighteenth century. Oxford's newspapers are now owned by a combine which controls some forty-eight papers in various parts of the country.

The history of the local motor industry is in strong contrast with that of printing. Its establishment was due to the enterprise of one of the inhabitants of the city and not to propinquity to raw materials or markets, although accessibility to these has obviously been good enough not to hamper production. Morris Motors Ltd. started as a branch of Morris Garages Ltd. in 1912 for the assembling of cars, and has expanded until, by 1936, it had a capital of £5,000,000 and, in 1935, an output of about 95,000 cars of an approximate total value of £15,350,000. This was a 75 per cent. increase on the value of its production two years previously. The total production of motor vehicles by the British manufacturers in 1935 was 403,720, so that in that year Morris Motors Ltd. contributed about a quarter of the total output of the country. The company's activities are not concentrated in Oxford. The Cowley works have remained an assembly plant, with the addition of a department for body manufacture, but instead of relying entirely on other firms for the supply of parts, as was originally the case, the company has gradually acquired factories for the supply of many of the parts required. It has a foundry and an engine supplier's factory at Coventry, and some years ago took over a newly established radiator factory in North Oxford. This works manufactures small pressings such as bonnets and petrol tanks, as well as radiators. Morris Motors Ltd. have also taken over Riley (Coventry) Ltd. and the Wolseley Motor Company which, besides the manufacture of its own cars, now does all the machining (not included in the engines) for Morris Motors Ltd. Another enterprise of the firm is the M.G. Car Company at Abingdon, which concentrates on the sports type of car; here production is not organized on a mass basis, the maximum output a week being about 100 cars, compared with over 600 a day in the Cowley plant.

The other big firm in Oxford in the motor manufacturing industry is the Pressed Steel Company. Its establishment was directly connected with the existence here of Morris Motors Ltd., but it is now independent of that company, which retains only its holding of all the debenture shares. Its management and organization have a marked international complexion and it has close relations with a big American steel manufacturing firm. Established in 1926,

its principal business is the production of steel motor-car bodies and pressings for the motor trade. It is the largest manufacturer of this type of body in the country, and its customers include most of the big British motor-car manufacturers. Its issued capital in 1936 was £1,180,654. Its production has increased enormously in the last few years, and the turnover in 1935 was nearly three times as great as in 1932. A new venture of the company is the manufacture, started in 1933, of refrigerators; the object is to diversify the products of the firm in order to lessen dependence upon the fortunes of the motor trade and thus to spread employment over time. Aeroplane parts are also manufactured. The development of these subsidiary products may, in the future, be of great importance to Oxford, which at present concentrates much of its industrial activity on motor manufacturing. So far, however, the Pressed Steel Company has only made tentative experiments in new products and has not yet established a secure market—the first essential of regular production—for any of them. At the 1937 annual general meeting the chairman said: ‘We are examining the possibilities of various other products which we could manufacture at our own works without interfering with our motor-car business, but it is not easy to discover articles based on steel pressings for which there is a sufficient demand to warrant manufacture by mass-production methods.’

The number of workpeople employed on the average in 1936 by the Pressed Steel Company and by Morris Motors Ltd. in their Cowley plant, Radiators branch, and M.G. works was between 10,500 and 11,000, i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of 30 per cent. of the insured workers in the Area in 1936. The total wage bill (including weekly and monthly salaries) of Morris Motors Ltd. in their Cowley plant and Radiator works for 1935 was £1,248,665, an increase on 1931 of 54 per cent.

The motor industry in Oxford is entirely an ‘exporting’ industry.¹ None of its raw materials is drawn from the locality with the exception of some of the woodwork. These raw materials cover a wide range. They include a large amount of steel (the amount used by the Pressed Steel Company alone rose from 13,000 tons in 1930 to nearly 50,000 tons in 1937) and other metals, such as brass and copper, as well as finished goods—door handles, upholstering material, &c.—from other factories for incorporation in the finished motor-car. It is estimated that something like 15 per cent. of the products of Oxford’s motor industry are exported abroad. The foreign market is

¹ See p. 68 above.

expanding rapidly, and in the autumn of 1937 contracts were signed by Morris Motors Ltd. for the export, largely to the Dominions and Colonies, of £5,000,000 worth of cars.

The establishment and growth of the motor industry have caused great activity in the building industry, since housing construction for the workers drawn to Oxford by the new industry has been added to the building necessary for the growth of the city's indigenous population. A large number of small firms are engaged in this industry in the Area. In 1935, 62 per cent. of 361 building firms working in the Area employed 10 workers or less. These firms covered 3,900 insured workers out of a total number of insured workers in the building industry in 1935 of 4,197. At the other end of the scale were three firms employing more than 200 insured workers each. It is estimated that in 1936 the total amount of capital involved in the building industry in Oxford was about £350,000. The number of insured building workers in 1937 in the Survey Area was 4,766. It is only possible to give a very rough estimate¹ of the gross value of production in recent years in the building industry, but it may be hazarded that during 1935 it amounted to about one and a half million pounds sterling in the Area. The total wage bill in the same year was estimated to be about £300,000. During the last few years, in addition to the great expansion in domestic building, there has been not only a considerable volume of work upon the colleges and other university buildings, but also a good deal of rebuilding and refitting of commercial buildings due, for example, to the opening of branches of the various multiple shop companies. Not all of this work is done by local firms or by local labour. Conversely, Oxford firms do a certain amount of work on contracts outside this neighbourhood. On the whole, however, building in the Area is a local industry, drawing many of its raw materials—clay, sand, gravel, and cement—from local sources of supply and primarily engaged in fulfilling local contracts. Subsidiary industries, which have grown concurrently with building, are electrical wiring and contracting and the manufacture of furniture and fittings. The latter is one of the minor special industries of Oxford and employed 519 insured workers in 1937. It has expanded quite considerably since the War, partly because of the work offered by the new factories in the way of the equipment of their offices, canteens, and so on. The university is said not to be a source of much trade, and indeed a good deal of the cabinet-making done in Oxford is not for local customers.

¹ Derived from calculations based on figures given in the census of production of 1930.

Very skilled work is done and the products of the trade are marketed all over the country.

The increasing population has occasioned a rapid increase in the volume of road traffic in the Area. The omnibus service in the city of Oxford is controlled by a company which also runs the major part of the services in the surrounding country districts. The Great Western Railway has a large interest in the company as it holds half the ordinary shares. Through its directors the company is also linked up with that great network of passenger and goods transport undertakings with which great combines like Tilling and British Automobile Traction Ltd., in association with the railways, have practically covered England during the last ten or fifteen years.¹ The progress made by the company since the War has been considerable. In 1921 the number of passengers carried was 8,332,700, by 1936 it had risen to 26,008,760. Over the same period the number of 'buses grew from about 50 to 174.

The remainder of Oxford's industrial enterprises are on a much smaller scale than those which have been mentioned. A firm with an interesting history is one which was established in 1760 for the production of wrought iron work. In the early nineteenth century it built a foundry and concentrated on the casting of household ironware. Finally, at the beginning of the present century, it started the manufacture of electrical distribution accessories, to which it is now mainly devoted. Only about half a dozen firms in the country do this type of work, and the Oxford business, as a result of its shrewd adaptation to changing industrial circumstances, has for many years shown a steadily rising curve of prosperity and has been almost unaffected by trade depressions. It employed in 1937 nearly 500 workers. Boat-building, an industry dependent upon the university, employed 132 people in 1936; the largest firm engaged in the business had nearly 100 workers. 'Oxford' marmalade is made by one firm employing rather less than 100 people, mostly women and girls. Many other preserves are made by the same firm and the materials for these are largely supplied locally. Both this firm and the boat-building business just mentioned are old-established concerns, owned and managed by families whose members have for years been prominent in the business and civic life of the city.

Apart from those in Oxford, the only industries and factories of note in the Area are the glove industry at Woodstock, the M.G. works at Abingdon employing about 300 people, and a leather factory in the same place with between 150 and 200 employees.

¹ Cf. A. Plummer, *New British Industries in the Twentieth Century* (1937), pp. 131-46.

The glove industry at Woodstock is of particular interest since it is an example of the gradual but still incomplete supersession of craftsmanship by modern methods of production.¹ The industry has been established in Woodstock since the sixteenth century. In the summer of 1936 it employed nearly 300 insured people as well as a considerable number of female outworkers. Up to the Great War the output was practically confined to gloves of the best quality, but in more recent years the manufacture of the cheaper kinds of leather gloves has been considerable. The result has been to weaken the demand for highly skilled glove cutters, and apprenticeship to this craft has practically died out. Much of the sewing of the gloves is done by outworkers living in villages in the neighbourhood of Woodstock, but the number of places where outwork is done is much smaller than before the War.

Labour in the Area.

Before the War the prospects for male workers in the Oxford district were very different from what they are now. There was always a demand for labourers in the building industry and for public works such as road-making, but opportunities of earning a decent livelihood by doing unskilled or semi-skilled work were few. Agricultural work and the distributive trades were the main employments, outside building, for men who had had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to serve an apprenticeship. While the former occupation was uncongenial to the townsman, the latter too often only offered blind-alley jobs to boys leaving school, many of whom later drifted into the ranks of the general labourers whose wages were low and employment intermittent.

With the advent of the motor industry, however, new avenues of employment, offering a high wage, were opened up for the unskilled man. At first workers were attracted mainly from the locality, largely from the ranks of the agricultural labourers, but when the Pressed Steel Company started production in 1926 the supply of local labour was inadequate to satisfy the new demand, and the inflow of workers from other parts of the country was very much accelerated. Since that time the number of workers employed in the Oxford motor works has grown steadily and the industry has drawn its labour in increasing numbers from outside the district. Unskilled workers even came from the motor factories in the Birmingham district, because the wage-rates in the Morris works were,

¹ The following information has been derived from an unpublished thesis written by Miss T. Schulz and is included here by her kind permission.

and still are, higher than the trade union rates paid in many other automobile works. The importation of skilled labour from Birmingham and Coventry was necessary from the beginning.

The demand of the motor industry for labour has seriously affected the supply of workers in the Oxford district available for some other employments. Where men are concerned, agriculture has probably felt the shortage most,¹ while as regards women, domestic service appears to have suffered considerably.² The distributive trades in Oxford have some difficulty in satisfying their demand for young people of both sexes, since the boys and girls who take jobs in shops when they leave school often obtain employment when they are older in the motor factories.³ A scarcity of clerks and typists is also attributed to the large number absorbed by the motor industry. Any shortage of labour which may exist in Oxford at the present time among skilled men cannot be attributed to the attraction of the motor industry. A shortage of some types of skilled worker in the engineering and building trades is indeed a problem of national importance. It has arisen because of the sudden demands of the rearmament programme and the revival of engineering after the depression of a few years ago, during which young men were reluctant to embark upon apprenticeship in the heavy and the building industries. As far as Oxford is concerned, however, a shortage of skilled men may in the future be more directly connected with the motor industry, since the comparatively high wages which youths may earn in it 'on the line'⁴ seriously rival the lengthy training and lower wages of an apprentice. Moreover, it is not unusual for the wage-rates of a fully skilled man to be less than those (plus bonus) of the unskilled worker, so that the balance is weighted against apprenticeship on this score as well. The skilled men enjoy more regular employment, but for many youths and their parents this advantage does not counterbalance the lower rate of pay received.

The effect of modern mass-production methods of manufacture on the type of worker employed is a problem which has attracted increasing attention since the War. The Oxford motor industry is based on these methods,⁵ and its demand for skilled work is therefore very small compared with the number of unskilled workers required. Probably not more than 20 per cent. of the employees on the pro-

¹ See p. 141 below.

² See p. 86 below.

³ See p. 54 above.

⁴ Performing one small and stereotyped operation as the parts to be assembled pass along a conveyor. The conveyor system plays a large part in the Cowley assembly works of Morris Motors and in the Pressed Steel works.

⁵ The M.G. works at Abingdon are on a different basis, as has been said on p. 72 above.

duction side are skilled men. The remainder of the workers are generally termed 'semi-skilled' since the processes on which they are employed demand a certain degree of proficiency. In some cases considerable dexterity is required and a few months are necessary to attain it. While this subdivision of work is essential for efficient production on a large scale, it is monotonous for the worker. Moreover, his proficiency is usually confined to the one operation and interchangeability of labour between departments when production in one section is held up, or work in another is pressing, is therefore difficult. Thus the spells of unemployment for workers in the motor industry may be accentuated. The workers themselves do not, as a rule, welcome changes in their occupation, since not only do they have the trouble of learning a fresh operation, but their earnings are reduced until they have acquired the normal speed for their new job. Work 'on the line' is really only suitable for young men, since older men find it difficult to maintain the required speed. It should be said, however, that a young man of ordinary physical ability appears to be able to keep up the necessary pace without excessive effort. The average age of the unskilled and semi-skilled men in the Oxford motor industry is probably somewhere in the early thirties. The problem of what to do with the elderly or even middle-aged employee is not yet serious in Oxford as its leading industry is too young, but it is a difficulty which may be acute here in a few years' time as it now is in many other parts of the country.¹

The skilled labour in the Oxford motor industry is found mainly in the die-making section and drawing office, and on the skill of these two departments the efficiency of production largely depends, since the introduction of new models or products without disturbance of the organization of the works hinges on the speed and precision of their work. In addition, there are a number of skilled pattern makers, fitters, carpenters, and motor mechanics employed. In other branches of engineering in Oxford the number of skilled men is small.

In the building industry it is estimated that craftsmen and labourers are employed in about equal proportions and that the ratio between skilled and unskilled labour has not altered much since the War. The introduction of machinery, particularly in joinery work, has led to a decline in the number of men employed on certain operations, but as the machines are worked by craftsmen this development has not materially altered the proportion of skilled labour used. At any given moment, of course, the number of each category actually

¹ See Chapter VI below.

employed varies according to the work being done. At the beginning of a big building job a small army of labourers is employed in excavating the site and only a comparatively few craftsmen are needed; later on, however, much more skilled labour is used, and the demand for labourers falls off. The work of a building labourer does not in ordinary circumstances yield high earnings; it is only where the demand is urgent and a good deal of overtime is worked that earnings may for a short period equal those in the motor industry. On the other hand, it escapes the extreme monotony of many occupations in the motor factories and the noise and intensity of much factory work.

Some building employers are anxious about the effect of the building connected with the defence programme on the supply of building labourers. It is said that there is likely to be plenty of work for builders in Oxford during the next few years if the necessary labour can be obtained. On the whole this is a problem which affects the ordinary builder less than the speculative builder, who is more dependent on casual labour. A slight shortage of all types of skilled men is felt now in busy months, but in some building trades the supply of men is much more restricted than in others. In Oxford, as in the country as a whole, there is a scarcity of plasterers, since the work is considered unpleasant and boys are becoming increasingly unwilling to enter the trade. Stone-masons, too, are not easily obtainable, and it is stated that despite the opportunities which exist in Oxford for this type of work, there is no really accomplished stone-carver in the town. When, therefore, good work of this nature is needed on the college buildings, men have to be imported from other districts for the job. However, the use of synthetic stone is growing, even for facing some of the most important college buildings, and as skilled masons do not like working on this material, the demand for their services is on the decline. It is said that skilled painters and decorators are very scarce in Oxford. There is no active trade union and very few firms encourage this branch of craftsmanship; in consequence, much of the work is done by labourers and is of a low standard. Presumably the peculiar irregularity of employment among painters due to the dependence of their work on favourable weather conditions is a serious deterrent to prospective entrants.

In the printing trade a demand has always existed for unskilled labour of a good type to work as packers, warehousemen, and so on, but although the proportion of unskilled to skilled labour is thought to have increased somewhat since the War, printing is still an industry where skilled men predominate. No unskilled labour is found in the

composing room, while in the Monotype department there is usually not more than one labourer to three tradesmen. The proportion is higher in the machine room as each machine minder, who is a skilled man, has a semi-skilled assistant as machine feeder, but taking a printing works as a whole, it is seen that unskilled labour takes a very secondary position. These conditions do not always prevail in a small jobbing press, where men who have not served their apprenticeship may be found doing the skilled work. In Oxford, however, as throughout the country, the more important firms belong to the Master Printers' Federation and are obliged to observe the regulations agreed on by that body and the workers' unions. An old craft in the printing trade which has now practically died out is that of casting type by hand, but it is still retained in Oxford for special work and is done by one or two elderly craftsmen. Several of the printing firms in Oxford have their own type foundries. Since the beginning of the century¹ machine composition has been steadily superseding hand composition and there are now more machine compositors than hand compositors in Oxford.² There is still, however, quite a good demand for the latter, particularly in the University Press, which undertakes very high-class book printing in many languages and styles. The increased use of machinery has not led to a deterioration in the position of the craftsmen, as labour used on the Monotype machines is as highly skilled as that employed in hand composition. In the smaller jobbing firms, however, the work produced is often old-fashioned, and outside the University Press and one or two other presses, the standard of printing in Oxford is said to be unprogressive.

A branch of the printing industry which in the past employed in Oxford a number of highly skilled craftsmen is bookbinding. At the present time about three-quarters of the people employed are women and girls, who are engaged chiefly in publisher's binding. Letter-press binding is the only section of the trade which is done by skilled labour. Some very good work is still done in this branch, although the richer covering materials, such as pigskin, morocco, and calf, are rapidly being superseded by cloth and buckram. Binding for the Bodleian and the college libraries is now almost entirely confined to the cheaper coverings, and most of the opportunities for exercising real craftsmanship come in the repairing and restoration of old volumes.

¹ Monotype machine composition was introduced into the University Press in 1903.

² According to the 1931 census, the figures for Oxford C.B. were Hand 139, Machine 179.

Tailoring in Oxford is another declining craft. Conditions here are typical of those in the country as a whole. Whereas according to the 1901 census there were 443 men tailors in Oxford, by 1931 there were only 264. To-day, much of the tailoring work, previously done locally, is done in distant factories for the ready-made clothing shops which sell a much better variety and quality of garment than they did before the War. The university custom, too, has weakened very much in recent years, since, in fact, the advent of grey flannel trousers, and Oxford firms now depend for a good deal of their trade on non-local customers. The outlook for the retail bespoke tailoring trade is serious, as the supply of journeymen tailors is diminishing. It is stated that there is no male apprentice in this trade in Oxford at the present time, so that it may be impossible to get 'tailor-mades' in Oxford in a generation's time. The fact that custom is falling off would in any case deter boys from entering the trade, but also the conditions of work are unattractive to many people. For example, most of the tailors are outworkers and it is difficult to maintain regular hours.

Apprenticeship.

This brief description of the more prominent types of skilled work done in Oxford has shown that there is a rather narrow field of employment open to young men who have undergone a period of apprenticeship.

Before the War there was a variety of crafts in each of which a limited number of openings were available for apprentices. Now, however, many of these trades, such as glove cutting, bookbinding, and tailoring, have diminished in importance, and the bulk of apprentices are found in the large establishments, such as the motor-manufacturing plants. While the careers for which boys in the engineering works are trained are probably more lucrative than any to which the pre-war apprentice could look forward, yet the loss of the old personal contact between master and apprentice in the small workshops is perhaps regrettable.

Despite the competition of the motor industry for labour, generally speaking there appears to be a sufficient supply of boys in the locality to satisfy the existing rather limited demand for apprentices. Nearly all the boys entering the building and printing trades are drawn from the elementary schools, the exceptions being those who take up general building or printer's reading; entrants to the engineering industry, on the other hand, come largely from the secondary schools. Premium-paying has almost died out since the War. It is still practised

to some extent in the building and cabinet-making trades. In some cases the money is obtained from charities endowed for that purpose.¹ Certain firms in the motor and retail trades take young men from the public schools as premium pupils.

Many of the firms in Oxford who take apprentices co-operate with the Oxford School of Technology in arranging for the boys to attend classes. In some cases the apprentices are sent to the school during working hours and their attendance at the classes is then compulsory. In others the boys are not sent during the day, but voluntary attendance at evening classes is encouraged. Some firms pay the fees of their apprentices at the school and a few also offer prizes. The work of the school is, however, severely handicapped by its cramped quarters and inadequate equipment. The staff, under most disadvantageous conditions, has succeeded in advancing technical education in Oxford to a considerable degree and in obtaining the co-operation of most of the big employers of juvenile labour, but expansion of the work in existing circumstances is very difficult. It is of great importance for Oxford that, in view of its growing industrial character, technical education should reach the standard of the other branches of education in the city. The need for this development has only become pressing since the War, but, if as many as possible of the young people entering industry are to receive continued mental and technical training and are not to drift into the ranks of unskilled labour, it is essential that adequate premises and apparatus should be at the disposal of the staff of the Technical School. It is hoped that the new building for the school, the plans for which have been approved by the city council, will soon be erected and occupied.

Entry into the printing trade is severely restricted by agreement between the masters' organization and the trade unions. The restrictions thus imposed on the number of apprentices are felt by many employers, including some in Oxford, to be too oppressive and to foreshadow a serious scarcity of skilled labour in the future. There are, at present, probably less than one hundred printing apprentices in Oxford, and this, considering that for nearly all the boys the period of apprenticeship is seven years, means an annual intake of journeymen into the trade which is small compared with the size of the industry. The unions, however, contend that without these limitations, full employment cannot be obtained for their members or the standard of skill maintained. It is certainly true that the workers' organizations have been powerful enough for many years

¹ Some account of the endowed charities in the Survey Area will be given in a later volume.

to limit entry to the skilled branches of the trade and that they have therefore been able to maintain the conditions of work of their members on a relatively high level, without apparently unduly hampering the prosperity and development of the industry. One Oxford firm, for instance, has risen since the War from amongst the crowd of small presses to a prominent position in the industry in the town. It has, however, been unable to supply its increasing demand for labour from local men, and now employs a considerable proportion of men who have come from other districts. This is an exception to the usual position in the Oxford printing works, for there seems to be a strong family tradition in the industry and son follows father in the employment of the same firm. This system has been criticized on the ground that it has led to a lowering of the standard of apprentices, since, with the assurance of a job in front of them, the boys are inclined to lack initiative and real keenness to master the intricacies of their craft. The number of boys wishing to enter the trade is apparently not great; perhaps because the family tradition has discouraged applicants whose relatives are not connected with the industry.

The training of building apprentices has been particularly hampered by the lack of facilities at the School of Technology. The number of building students has, nevertheless, shown a remarkable growth during recent years, especially in view of the fact that attendance at the classes, which are held in the evening, is quite voluntary in this industry. The students are not confined to apprentices, but include a number of journeymen who wish to continue their training. The number of boys attending the classes is probably a minority of those entering the building trade, for, besides the apprentices who do not attend the school, there is also quite a considerable number of boy entrants to the building crafts who are never apprenticed, but who eventually do a good deal of skilled work in the employ of small firms. Apprenticeship in carpentry and plumbing is apparently popular, but the supply of boys desiring to be bricklayers and masons is inadequate, while no boys take a proper training in painting and decorating, partly because there is no real craftsman in Oxford willing to teach the work. The building industry in Oxford has, for many generations, drawn much of its skilled labour from the surrounding countryside, and many apprentices still come from families living in the villages and small towns of the neighbourhood.

Before the War there were a few openings for apprentices in the engineering trades in Oxford, but it was not until the rapid expansion of the motor industry during the last decade or so that the oppor-

tunities became more widespread. They are still, however, somewhat limited. A rough estimate of the number of engineering apprentices (including pupils and trainees) now in Oxford puts the figure somewhere about 250. Most of the boys applying for entry into the engineering trades come from the locality. One of the works selects its entrants by examination, but the others seem to rely largely on the assistance of the staff of the Technical School in picking suitable boys. There is no limitation to the number of apprentices such as is found in the printing trade, but compared to the amount of unskilled labour entering the industry the number of boys entering by apprenticeship is very small. Even so, a good proportion of the boys embarking on the skilled branches are not, strictly speaking, apprentices, that is to say, they are not indentured and the training received by some of them is rather sketchy. It must be remembered that a thorough and extensive training in engineering cannot be given to boys in a works where only a limited number of processes are carried on. In the motor industry in Oxford a good training, lasting from three to five years, is obtainable; many of the apprentices are sent to day classes at the School of Technology. One factory in particular has a thoroughly organized apprenticeship course and the boys pass systematically through all the departments. Attendance at the Technical School is encouraged by most of the engineering employers who, in some cases, continue to send youths to classes even when their term of apprenticeship is finished. The employment open to young men on finishing their training depends, of course, largely on the degree of proficiency attained, but a boy trained in one of the Morris Motor works has a good chance of obtaining a job in one of the combine's plants. A really able boy from the Cowley works will probably be sent away to the company's works at Coventry, where better use can be made of his skill. Most firms like to keep on their best apprentices as journeymen, but some employers realize that this arrangement is generally not so good for a boy as getting experience and finding his feet in another works. Movement of skilled labour in the motor industry from one firm to another is hampered by agreement between employers not to take men from each other without permission.

Apart from printing, building, and engineering there is not much apprenticeship in Oxford. Cabinet-making, in recent years, has added to the number of apprentices it takes, and there are now probably some thirty or forty boys learning this trade in Oxford. It is a coveted employment and there is no lack of local boys applying for openings. The training received by the apprentices is more

specialized to-day than it used to be, because many more operations are done by machinery. There is a so-called apprenticeship system in the distributive trades, but it hardly merits the name. Boys and girls are taken on when they leave school at a nominal wage which rises slowly during a five-year period of training, but it is rare for any attempt to be made to give the apprentices a thorough knowledge of the different aspects of retail selling, and very little support is given to continued technical education. These conditions are typical of conditions in the country as a whole, and their improvement probably depends on the better organization of the trade on the side of both the employers and the workers.

College servants.

An employment which has for many centuries been open to Oxford boys is that of college servant.¹ A few apprentices are taken in the kitchens, on payment of a premium, and for those who complete their training successfully a lucrative career lies open. The remainder of the boys start work less ambitiously as lodge boys and scout's assistants. The work is attractive to many boys because hard work and long hours in term time are compensated for by the slack periods in the vacations. This attraction is, however, diminishing with the increased number of residential conferences held in vacation. The entry of boys into college service is evidently not great, since, in 1936, out of 1,140 servants (male and female) only about 150 were under 20 years of age.² In many cases the boys continue in the service of the college after they are grown up; for those who leave there is not a wide field of similar employment available, now that male servants in private houses have decreased so much in number.

Women's employment.

Before the War charring was a common employment amongst Oxford women, particularly if they were married,³ but it is much less in evidence now. The relative disappearance in this district of low-paid casual labour has removed the necessity for many married women to go out to work in order to supplement their husband's scanty earnings. Moreover, the introduction of the motor industry has increased the factory work available to-day for the wife who seeks employment.

¹ The importance of the university as an employer of labour may be judged from the fact that the total wage-bill of the colleges for 1935 was £128,000. (This figure is derived from the published accounts of the colleges.)

² These figures are estimated from information kindly supplied by fifteen colleges and halls.

³ Cf. C. V. Butler, *Social Conditions in Oxford* (1912), pp. 71-3.

The main single factory employment for women and girls before the War was the binding section of the printing industry. The numbers so employed now are easily surpassed by those working in the motor industry. The work consists of folding and sewing by hand and the operation of various machines. A learnership period, spreading over four years, is in operation, but there is no restriction on the number of girls who may be taken on.

In the motor industry the occupations of the women are parallel to those of the semi-skilled men; they operate small presses and do upholstering and trimming. As the work is confined to the repeated performance of one small operation efficiency in it is easily acquired.

A small number of women and girls are employed in beer and mineral-water bottling and quite a considerable number (527 in the Survey Area in 1937) in laundry work, but outside the motor and printing industries, the bulk of the women in insured employment work in dressmaking and the distributive trades.

Domestic service is the chief non-insurable occupation for women. The demand of the motor factories for female labour has undoubtedly diminished the supply of domestic servants in Oxford considerably. Employment in the works is not usually available for girls as soon as they leave school, so that they may enter domestic service for a few years before they obtain work in one of the motor factories. This means, however, that as soon as a girl is old enough to be a general servant, she is quite likely to become a motor worker, and the shortage in this class of domestic is therefore particularly acute. The difference in wages, after the free board and residence received by a servant have been taken into account, is probably often not very material, but the free evenings and week-ends and the communal atmosphere of a factory are very attractive compared with domestic service in a small house. The deficiency of maids has recently been lessened to some extent by the transference of girls from the Special Areas,¹ but this source of supply is now weakening. On the other hand, there has been a marked increase in the number of foreign girls employed in Oxford and reliable observers estimate that the proportion so employed is exceptionally high here.

The earnings of women in the motor works probably average over the year about 45s. a week. This is a high figure for women's wages and it has had the effect of raising rates in some other employments in Oxford with which the motor industry competes for female labour. Nevertheless, although the wages paid in the printing-presses and in the marmalade factory are lower than in the motor

¹ See p. 61 above.

works, the employers do not complain of any difficulty in either finding or retaining girls. In fact, they usually have a waiting-list, and it is rare for a girl to leave either occupation before she marries. In these comparatively small, old-established factories, family tradition is strong, and there is, moreover, a homely atmosphere and an individual interest in the employee which it is quite impossible for a large manufacturing plant to establish.

Wages and conditions of work.

In considering the wages and conditions of work of labour in Oxford, it should be borne in mind that there is little permanent unemployment¹ and that the leading industries of the district have been prosperous for some years. Even the depression of 1931 was unable to do more than check the rapid development of the motor industry, while printing, with its sheltered market, has for many decades maintained a steady level of activity. Building, too, has suffered comparatively little from depressed conditions. In these circumstances the Oxford workers have, as a whole, been much better off than those in many of the older industrial areas.

In the printing and building industries wages are regulated by national agreement. In printing, the minimum weekly rate in Oxford for skilled men is 68s. 6d. and for unskilled 51s. 6d. The highest minimum craftsman's wage is 83s. 6d., paid to stereotypers. Women are paid 32s. In a few presses, good workers receive rather higher wages than those fixed by agreement. Apprentices start at 11s. 6d. a week and girl learners at 7s. 6d. Piece work, which before the War was common in the industry, has now entirely died out, except for women and girls in some departments of the binding section. The hours of work have recently been reduced from 48 hours per week to 45; in some works the change has been effected by introducing a five-day week, in others by extending the dinner hour and shortening the period of work on Saturday morning. In some departments two shifts are worked and in the newspaper trade there is an 11 day-11 night fortnight. A week's holiday with pay has been in force in the industry since 1919. Apparently neither overtime nor short time is common in the industry. While the university terms affect the activity of jobbing printers, the big firms who do a great deal of work for outside customers are not subject to slack business in the vacations.

The hourly rate of wages for craftsmen in the building industry in April 1937 was 1s. 6½d. in Oxford, 1s. 5½d. in Abingdon, and

¹ See Chapter VI below.

1s. 4d. in Woodstock. This means that for a full week's work in Oxford 71s. 8d. would be earned in summer and 67s. 10d. in winter. Builder's labourers are paid (April 1937) 1s. 2d. an hour, or 54s. 3d. a week in summer and 51s. 4d. a week in winter, in Oxford, 1s. 1½d. an hour in Abingdon, and 1s. 0¾d. an hour in Woodstock. These rates show a considerable advance over those prevailing before the War, when skilled men received from 7d. to 10d. an hour and labourers 4d. to 5½d. Piece-work rates are not paid by Oxford firms, but are often paid by speculative builders employing temporary, usually non-union, labour. The normal weekly hours of work are 44 in winter and 46½ in summer, but overtime is common when building is booming and the additional wages thus earned may be substantial. On the other hand, the earnings of the workers, especially the labourers, are often subject to depletion owing to the incidence of 'wet time', i.e. bad weather during which many building operations have to be suspended and wages are not paid.

It appears that the cash wages received by the majority of college servants approximate to those usually paid to unskilled industrial workers. The following table summarizes the information available on this point.¹

TABLE 17
Wages of college servants

<i>Weekly wage-rate</i>	<i>% of servants</i>
Under £1 per week . . .	15.1
£1 and under £2 . . .	26.7
£2 " £3 . . .	29.4
£3 " £4 . . .	22.3
£4 and over . . .	6.5
Total	100.0

It must, however, be remembered that many college servants are in receipt both of wages in kind in the form of meals and of additional income from tips, which are in many cases authorized by the college. The above figures take no account either of gratuities or of board and lodging where these may be received. In the case of the women's colleges nearly all the female servants live in.

The rates of pay agreed upon between the 'bus company and the men's trade union are 1s. 2d. an hour rising to 1s. 3½d. for drivers, and 1s. rising to 1s. 1½d. for conductors aged 21 and over. There is a guaranteed week of 48 hours for all the regular workers employed,

¹ The percentages are calculated from information kindly provided by fourteen colleges and halls.

but the actual hours worked average 52 a week. There is an agreed scale of overtime rates and a six days' holiday with pay for employees with more than a year's service.

Earnings in the motor industry may, for a particular week, be very much higher than in any of the industries just mentioned. The usual rate for a man to earn in the Cowley assembly plant is 2s. 6d. an hour. Thus a man on a good line of production may earn £6 or more a week, but if periods of temporary unemployment are taken into consideration the advantage of the high wages in the motor industry is less pronounced. Even so, however, the average weekly earnings of the motor worker in Oxford over the year are probably between 70s. and 80s.¹ The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders Ltd. in its report for 1937² calculates that the average weekly earnings, taking skilled and unskilled men together, in October 1936 were 84s. 3½d. October is a busy month in the industry, so that wages at the time of the inquiry were probably little affected by unemployment. These wages are higher than those earned by many craftsmen in other employments; it appears, however, that many skilled workers, in building for example, prefer the lower wage with greater regularity and security of employment. For unskilled workers the wages in the motor industry are decidedly high and their attraction is, of course, considerable. Because of the comparatively high wages which a boy may earn 'on the line' at 16 or 17 years of age, it has been found necessary to pay engineering apprentices in Oxford rather better wages than they receive in other places. There appears to be no definite scale prevailing, but most apprentices probably start at 2d. or 3d. an hour and rise to anything between 9d. and 1s. The motor manufacturers' organization estimates that earnings per man in October 1936 showed an increase on 1926 of 12.6 per cent.² and were then at the highest point yet reached.

About 80 per cent. of the workers in the motor industry are on piece rates. Basic rates are decided upon and then the firm's rate-fixer (in one works in consultation with the workers' representatives) fixes the rate for each job. No 'efficiency' system of rate-fixing is in operation in any of the Oxford factories. A higher basic rate for overtime prevails in all the factories. In 1936 a profit-sharing scheme was started for the workpeople employed by Morris Motors Ltd. The amount received by each man depends on his length of service with the company. In 1937 the payments made averaged £7 4s. 0d. per

¹ In addition, of course, his annual income is increased by the unemployment insurance benefit he has drawn during the course of the year.

² *Motor Industry of Great Britain in 1937*, p. 46.

worker. Holidays with pay were also introduced by the same firm in 1936. It has long been customary for the works to close for two weeks in August, and the workers used to draw unemployment benefit for this period. Under the new scheme men with more than five years' service get two weeks' pay (based on average earnings), those with from one to five years' service get one week's pay, and workers with less than a year's service get one-fiftieth of the amount earned during their employment with the firm. Most of the men are now ineligible for unemployment benefit during the holiday.

The normal weekly hours of work are 44 in the Morris works and 47 in the Pressed Steel plant, but, in fact, the working of either short weeks or overtime is so common that many workers probably rarely work the 'normal' number of hours in a week. Overtime is worked in the busy periods in all the plants, but there has been no laying-off period in the Radiator works for over three years. In the case of the Pressed Steel factory and the Morris assembly plant, however, the irregularity of employment is one of the most discussed features of the work. Until 1936 it was customary in the assembly plant to turn workers off for several weeks at a time, especially in the three months, June to September, i.e. before work began on the new annual models for the Motor Show. This system was obviously a great inconvenience to the men, since for several weeks they were dependent on unemployment insurance benefit which amounts to only a small proportion of their normal earnings. In 1936, in an attempt to regularize production and employment, Morris Motors Ltd. decided to abandon the wholesale introduction of new models once a year and instead to produce new models at irregular intervals. The result has been that long periods of temporary unemployment have been abolished. Lately, however, there has been a considerable extension in the number of short 'stand-offs', varying from a few days to one or two weeks.¹ Whereas under the old system a high proportion of the total production staff was turned off at once, now the workers are turned off by departments; indeed, on any given day it is usual for the workers in at least one department to be unemployed. These short periods of unemployment are due to varying rates of progress in the various departments, mainly caused by irregularity in the supply of parts. There was some difficulty in 1937 in obtaining some of the materials required, because of the demands of the rearmament programme, and this intensified the irregularity of employment. The Pressed Steel works were also affected by the shortage of steel, and short periods of unemployment

¹ See pp. 103-4 below.

were experienced by many of their workers in 1937. In both of the plants short days are rarely worked, and often the periods of unemployment are long enough for the worker to qualify for unemployment benefit. Although the disappearance of the long stand-off period, which often involved the workers in pecuniary difficulties, is welcome to most of the employees, the present constant discontinuity of employment must be unsettling to them.

Wages and conditions in the Pressed Steel works have been regulated since 1934 by agreement between the company and the workers' union. The company has agreed in principle to observe conditions not less favourable than those embodied in national agreements between the trade unions and the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation. A system of holidays with pay according to the Amalgamated Engineering Union scheme was introduced by the company in 1938. A shop-steward system is in existence in the factory and seems to work without friction. The men in each department elect one or more stewards, but it appears that the elections do not arouse much interest. In the Morris plants there is no organization of the workers, although in the Radiator works there is a workers' committee, presided over by one of the staff, which examines grievances and, if it thinks it desirable, brings them to the notice of the management. This arrangement seems preferable to a system in which the foreman is the only channel of communication between the worker and the management.

Industrial welfare.

Several old-established Oxford concerns, like the University Press and the marmalade factory, have promoted welfare activities for their workpeople for many years past, but the introduction of large-scale methods of production into Oxford industry has brought about the organization of welfare activities on a much more elaborate scale than had hitherto been seen here. Before the War welfare departments were uncommon in industry in this country, but in any case they would not have been possible in more than one or two Oxford concerns owing to the small scale of business organization. Insurance schemes and works clinics, for example, are only feasible when there is a large labour force. Mass-production methods may be distasteful to many people and may be thought to impose a heavy strain on the workers, but they do facilitate the introduction of benefits, such as some of those to be described, which are not open to the employees of small firms. The variety and extent of the benefit schemes must largely depend on the prosperity of the companies,

and Oxford motor workers have the advantage of being employed by particularly prosperous concerns.

Innumerable small accidents, for example eye injuries due to steel filings, occur daily in the motor factories. Prompt treatment on the spot is to the advantage of both employer and worker, since it makes a considerable difference to the amount of time lost through sickness. All the three big plants in Oxford have clinics where the treatment given to the employees is free. The Pressed Steel Company employs a full-time medical officer to supervise its medical department. This is a very unusual feature in industrial welfare in this country. The accident rate in this factory has been much reduced recently owing to the increased provision of safety guards. In all the plants there are processes (for example, lead-working) where the men are liable to contract particular complaints; precautionary methods are imposed by the Home Office, and it does not appear that the incidence of occupational disease among Oxford motor workers is serious.

Morris Motors Ltd., in its Cowley plant, organizes a savings club, a benevolent club, a sickness fund, and a life-insurance scheme. The savings club was started in order to facilitate provision by the men, when in work, against their periods of temporary unemployment. Interest is paid at 5 per cent. and the fund now amounts to about £100,000. The contribution to the sick fund is 6*d.* a week, and eight weeks' sickness benefit is payable; membership is voluntary, but most of the employees belong. The life-insurance scheme is financed entirely by the company; the benefit is £100 payable to the widow of every employee who has been in the firm's service at least six months. In the Radiators plant there is a benevolent fund for the assistance of the workpeople during sickness. There is a pension scheme for all workers on the staff of Morris Motors Ltd. The Pressed Steel Company arranges for the life insurance of the workers on advantageous terms. Contributions and benefits are graded according to annual earnings, the minimum contribution being 6*d.* a week for £200 benefit; the company adds a further £40 insurance for each two years' service up to a maximum of ten years. Alternatively the scheme covers total and permanent disability.

All the Oxford motor works have a canteen on their premises. The Pressed Steel Company opened a large block of new welfare premises, including a canteen, in the spring of 1937. The accommodation previously had been very inadequate; indeed, the whole welfare organization of this works has been much developed in the last year or so and a considerable improvement has been effected in the amenities provided for the workers.

The welfare organization of the Oxford motor manufacturing companies not only caters for the employee in his capacity as worker but it also provides opportunities for the spending of his leisure time. A worker living in a familiar neighbourhood and working in an old-established industry, often alongside relatives and friends, is in little need of a welfare organization which extends to provision for the use of his leisure. The influx of workers into Oxford in recent years has, however, created a new problem.¹ Living in the new housing estates on the outskirts of Oxford, without opportunities for communal activities and often without a single acquaintance in the near neighbourhood, many workers have to look to their employers for the provision of a place where they may spend their spare time and make new friends. All the motor works have social and athletic clubs, for membership of which there is an inclusive subscription for most of the workers of 2d. a week. In one of the works membership is a condition of employment, in the others membership is voluntary and about three-quarters of the workers belong. The organization is similar in all the works. Each games section has a committee which reports to a general executive committee to which the welfare organizer employed by the firm is secretary. His duties in this sphere are to co-ordinate the activities of the various sections, as well as to supervise the finances of the club. All the committees are elected by the members. Dances and concerts are regularly held by the clubs, and room is provided, as well as a bar, where members can spend the evening. The contribution of the companies to the clubs in the provision of premises and equipment is considerable, and enables these to be on a much more elaborate scale than would otherwise be possible for the subscription paid. All the works have their own sports' grounds, as well as rooms for indoor games.

The main burden of the organization of these clubs appears to be borne by the firms' staffs, and voluntary helpers among the workers are hard to find. This is perhaps inevitable, since to the natural distaste of most people for administrative work is added the idea that the social clubs and entertainments are part of the factory organization and therefore the firm must itself arrange for their conduct. A good many of the Oxford motor workers live some distance from the factories and this is a contributory cause in diminishing the number who use the facilities provided for them; it appears that only a minority make regular use of the clubs. At the present time the works' welfare organizations provide amenities which are not

¹ See Chapter III above.

elsewhere available for many of the employees, but social centres near the workers' homes where the family would be the unit catered for might perhaps be better appreciated and supported.

Trade unionism.

In the older industrial centres, even though the active members of a trade union are always a small proportion of the total membership, trade-union activities provide a field of interest for a number of workers. In Oxford, however, until three or four years ago, the scope of trade unionism was too small to cover more than a fraction of the workers. One of its main strongholds has always been the printing industry, where nearly all the workers, both men and women, are organized and all the larger firms, in practice if not in theory, are closed shops. It would be difficult to obtain a good craftsman in this trade who did not belong to a union, and in fact many employers get their skilled labour through the unions. The membership of the Oxford branches of the two leading unions, the Typographical Association and the National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, and Paper Workers, showed a combined total in 1937 of about 1,250. There are, in addition, some smaller unions like the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants (which organizes the newspaper workers) and the National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers. The craftsmen's unions have well-organized benefit schemes and usually pay quite a high rate of superannuation benefit, the hall-mark of financial strength in a union. Trade unionism in this trade has been able to enforce uniform conditions of employment practically throughout the industry. By their control of the supply of skilled men the unions are able to maintain a good bargaining position in negotiations with the employers. Relations in Oxford between the masters' and the workers' organizations have been peaceful for many years and questions of demarcation and the introduction of new machines, which sometimes cause trouble, have been settled here without dispute.

Organization in the building trades is apparently on the increase in Oxford, and it is estimated that about 50 per cent. of the workers in the industry are now trade unionists; the proportion will, of course, be much higher among the craftsmen than among the labourers. The number of employers in the southern counties who belong to the Building Trades Employers' Federation is also growing, and the organization of masters and men is mutually stimulating, since as federated firms are parties to the national agreement with the unions they prefer their employees to be unionists, though they will not

insist upon this. On the other side, unions encourage their members to give preference to employment by federated firms. There is a local Joint Council for the Building Industry which deals with relations between employers and workers in the district. Disputes are referred to it for settlement, but it has had very little work to do in this sphere for several years.

In the omnibus service and a section of the motor industry the growth of trade unionism has been much more recent and much more rapid than in the industries already mentioned. The Transport and General Workers Union is the chief organization in both these industries, and mainly as a result of its activities in them it now has a membership in Oxford of between four and five thousand. It employs a full-time organizer here appointed by the union's head-quarters. The union does not cater for skilled men and its organization is looser than that of a craft union. Fluctuations in membership are therefore apt to be more violent and control over the members more difficult to enforce. It has, however, been very successful in Oxford in recent years in building up its membership. In 1935 only a handful of the busmen were organized, whereas now practically all the men who are eligible belong to the union. This achievement has largely been due to adroit handling by the union of disputes which have arisen between the omnibus company and the men. There has been a rather similar course of events in the Pressed Steel works. As a result of a strike in the summer of 1934 the company recognized the union, which until then had had a very small membership in the plant. Now, most of the departments in the works are fully organized, and through the shop-steward system the union plays an active part in the relations between the workers and the management. The majority of the draughtsmen, the pattern makers, and the fitters and die workers are also organized in their appropriate unions.

The position in the Morris works is in strong contrast. The company does not recognize trade unionism in any of its plants and, as far as its Oxford factories are concerned, the number of trade unionists among the workers is negligible. The failure of the union to make headway against the attitude of this company, as it did in the case of the Pressed Steel Company, is said to be partly due to the preponderance of local workers in the Morris plants. These men lack the tradition of trade unionism which is behind many of the workers in the Pressed Steel works, who come largely from areas like South Wales where organization is widespread. It is probable, too, that the advantages, such as the holidays with pay scheme, which Morris employees enjoy, make union propaganda ineffective, as

fewer benefits are left which might be obtained from organization. The company does not refuse to employ unionists, but it does not encourage them. The policy of the firm is that if it recognizes trade unionism it will also join the Motor Manufacturers Federation, and this may mean a reduction in its wage-rates to conform with those laid down by trade-union agreements.

There are a number of unions, other than those already mentioned, with branches in Oxford. The Amalgamated Engineering Union has about 400 members, the bulk of whom are in the Pressed Steel works. The union does not apparently make very active efforts to recruit members from other engineering firms. The National Union of General and Municipal Workers has increased its membership very rapidly in recent years, chiefly among employees of the corporation. The railway unions are the only other group of any importance in the district and their influence is exercised at the head-quarters of the railway companies rather than locally. The decline of local employment in the clothing industry, particularly of craftsmen, is reflected in a serious decrease which has taken place in recent years in the membership of the Oxford branch of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers.

The unions do not play the part in the civic life of Oxford which they do in the North and in South Wales. One or two unions have members on the city council and union representatives are appointed to the executive bodies of the city Labour party, but, on the whole, organized labour is not prominent in municipal affairs. This may be largely because trade unionism on a comparatively large scale is very new in Oxford and has not yet established its position; moreover, it draws the bulk of its members from the ranks of the unskilled workers, who are not usually as keen as craftsmen to play an active part in politics.

Conclusion.

The most vivid impression left by a survey of Oxford's industrial life at the present time is the dominating position of the motor industry. It has not supplanted other industries, but it is rapidly overshadowing the old-established industrial characteristics of the Area. The direct employment given by the university to-day is very small compared with that provided by the motor works, and the influence of the university, which used to pervade the building and retail trades, is no longer so considerable in those spheres. Before the War a good many of the working-class inhabitants of the city were engaged in personal service, such as domestic work either in

the colleges or in private houses, dressmaking, or tailoring. This meant that their contact with employers and customers was close and most of their work was of an individual nature. Now, there is mass production carried out by large bodies of workers far removed from any personal contact with their employers or the purchasers of the goods they make. In the last quarter of a century the character of the labour force in Oxford has changed. It is not now made up of a good proportion of craftsmen with most of the remainder of the workers consisting of low-paid unskilled labourers. On the contrary, the great majority of Oxford's workers to-day are unskilled and semi-skilled, many of them earning wages at least as high as the majority of craftsmen. The advantages of this enlargement of opportunity for the working population are, however, to some extent counteracted by the irregular employment given by the motor industry. A diminution in some branches of the city's activity has always occurred during the university vacations, though the diminution used to be very much more marked than it is now. Seasonal variations in building employment are also familiar, but the sudden spells of unemployment experienced by motor workers are a new experience in Oxford. Besides the workers themselves, shopkeepers and landlords were affected, sometimes materially, by the long periods of unemployment which used to be a characteristic feature of the local motor industry. Arrears in the payment of rent and of household bills were often difficult to avoid during the weeks when unemployment insurance benefit was the only source of income. The abolition of these long stand-off periods¹ has therefore been a welcome development to many sections of the population of the district, for the working of short-time which has succeeded them does not involve the workers in the same financial difficulties, although it is in other respects an unattractive feature of the industrial life of Oxford.

In general, the picture of Oxford's industry is one of prosperity, a prosperity which exists in nearly all types of business enterprise. Dependence upon the fortunes of the motor trade is not complete, but it is large enough to augur ill for many Oxford workers if the present level of production is not maintained. Moreover, the new factories which have been set up in Oxford in recent years have been small in number and, except for the motor companies, insignificant in size. There is as yet no sign of Oxford's becoming the home of new industries and factories like many places on the outskirts of London. There has been no attempt to establish a trading estate in

¹ See p. 90 above and pp. 103-4 below.

Oxford, such as is found at Slough, and any development of this sort would probably be repugnant to many of the inhabitants of Oxford, but if continuing prosperity is to be obtained for the large industrial population which now inhabits the city and its environs, it may be necessary at some future date to encourage the provision of a wider choice of employment.

CHAPTER VI

UNEMPLOYMENT¹

THE rapid industrial expansion of the Survey Area has been described in the preceding pages. This expansion has naturally had an important influence on the unemployment position in the district. The problem of long-term unemployment in the last ten years has been almost negligible in the Survey Area. To some extent, local experience is similar to that in the rest of the south of England, but the high level of employment has been particularly marked in the Oxford area owing to the growth of the local motor industry. During some parts of the period under review the number of unemployed must represent a minimum which is irreducible with our present system of industrial organization. The main interest, therefore, of this study of local unemployment is the effect of industrial expansion on the area in which it is taking place. The second point of interest is that the main industry is affected by marked changes in activity over the course of the year. The local picture is dominated by the intense activity or the temporary stoppages in one industry.

The figures for the unemployed are derived from registrations at the Employment Exchanges at Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock, so that an unemployed worker who does not register is not in the records. Registration is a condition for benefit, whether this is the normal insurance benefit or benefit under the transitional benefit arrangements, now taken over by the Unemployment Assistance Board. People who are ineligible for benefit may also register. It is probable, then, that there are very few unemployed persons, able and willing to work, who do not register. Agriculture² and domestic service are the main non-insurable employments which are not covered by the statistics used in this chapter, but as a shortage of labour exists in both these occupations there can be little unemployment, other than occasional, amongst the people working in them.

Table 18 gives the total number of the unemployed on the live registers in the Area for the years 1927-37 (August). The annual total is arrived at by averaging the monthly figures. The table also shows the percentages which these totals are of the numbers of insured workers, and for the purpose of comparison the percentages

¹ Thanks are due to officials in the Employment Exchanges in the Survey Area for their help in the collection of material for this chapter.

² Agricultural workers were only taken into the Unemployment Insurance Scheme in 1936.

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for the same years are added for Great Britain and for the south-eastern administrative division of the Ministry of Labour. Oxford actually forms part of the south-western division, but it is affected more by the factors influencing London and the south-east. The percentage of unemployment in the south-west is generally higher than in the south-east, and the deduction from the table, that the position of Oxford has been exceptional, would have been even stronger if the former figures had been used.

TABLE 18
Unemployed on live register
(based on figures for the third Monday in each month)

	Survey Area		S.E. Division	Great Britain and Northern Ireland
	Number	% of insured*	% of insured*	% of insured*
1927 . . .	570	2.4	(5.0)	9.2
1928 . . .	767	3.2	(5.4)	10.7
1929 . . .	998	3.8	(5.6)	10.4
1930 . . .	1,278	4.8	(8.0)	16.2
1931 . . .	2,485	8.8	(12.0)	21.2
1932 . . .	2,796	10.0	(14.3)	21.9
1933 . . .	2,398	8.1	(11.5)	20.1
1934 . . .	1,863	6.0	9.0	17.1
1935† . . .	1,919	5.6	7.9	15.0
1936 . . .	2,218	6.1	6.5	12.7
1937‡ (Jan.-Aug.)	3,075	7.5	6.8	10.2

* See Appendix I, note 18.

† For 1935, 1936, and 1937 the figures include juveniles aged 14 and 15. In the Survey Area these represent 2-3 per cent. of the average unemployment for these years.

‡ See Appendix I, note 19.

It is immediately evident from this table that the unemployment position in the Area has been very favourable. Except for the years 1931-3 unemployment has been at a level which is associated with conditions of boom, and even in those years it never rose above a figure which would be considered low for the country as a whole. As the chapter on industrial immigration has shown,¹ many people from other parts of the country have found employment in Oxford, and in most years since 1927 the number of insured workers has grown by more than the average number of unemployed in the year concerned.

In the following discussion the motor and the building industries have been selected for detailed analysis since these are the only industries in which the number of unemployed is large. Moreover,

¹ See Chapter III above.

they are the only ones in which employment fluctuates seriously. An idea of the magnitude of the unemployment in the Area outside these two industries may be given by the following figures of the number of unemployed insured workers (16-64) at three dates.¹ In July 1931 there were 1,018, in July 1935, 1,011, and in July 1936, 682. At the last date, among some leading industries of the Area (printing, the distributive trades, the omnibus service, furniture manufacturing, and the hotel and restaurant service), the hotel and restaurant service, with 6 per cent. of its workers unemployed, had the highest level of unemployment.

In order to investigate the causes and nature of such unemployment as there was, the figures have been analysed according to age and sex groups, and according to seasonal and periodical fluctuations.

Incidence among age and sex groups.

The experience of the Area is sufficiently indicated by taking the figures for 1929, 1932, and 1936, which represent different phases of industrial activity (Table 19).

TABLE 19
Percentages unemployed by sex and age groups
Survey Area

	<i>Men</i> 21-64	<i>Men</i> 18-20	<i>Boys</i> 16-17	<i>Women</i> 21-64	<i>Women</i> 18-20	<i>Girls</i> 16-17
1929 . .	3.9	2.9	2.6	4.6	5.5	3.3
1932 . .	10.6	8.5	5.8	9.0	6.4	7.5
1936 . .	7.5	4.2	2.2	4.9	2.7	2.9

Inspection of Table 19 shows that the incidence of unemployment in the different groups was similar throughout the depression. Men appear to be more subject to unemployment than young men or young women.² This is due to the fact that men predominate in the motor manufacturing and building industries, which we shall find are those most subject to unemployment, though of an intermittent nature. If the figures for the three Employment Exchange areas are examined separately, two groups are found which do not conform to the general tendencies of the figures, those of women over 21 in Abingdon and of men 18 to 20 in Woodstock.

An inspection of unemployment by industries shows that in

¹ Third Monday in the month in each case.

² The change in the relative position of women since 1929 is mainly due to changes in the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, e.g. the Anomalies Act of 1931, which disqualified certain classes, particularly married women, who had previously been eligible to receive benefit.

Abingdon the unemployment among women is almost entirely in the clothing group. In 1933 a clothing factory of long standing was closed down, and a large number of its employees were women who were too old to be readily absorbed in other industries. In the case of young men living at Woodstock the unemployment is in the group 'construction and repair of motor vehicles, &c.', and the high proportion is due to the fact that an increasing number of these young men work in the Oxford motor industry and are included in the figures of the insured workers in Oxford while they register for unemployment benefit at Woodstock.

Periodical and seasonal fluctuations.

The chart (Fig. 25) shows the changes in the monthly figures of unemployment in the Area since 1927. Inspection of the lower

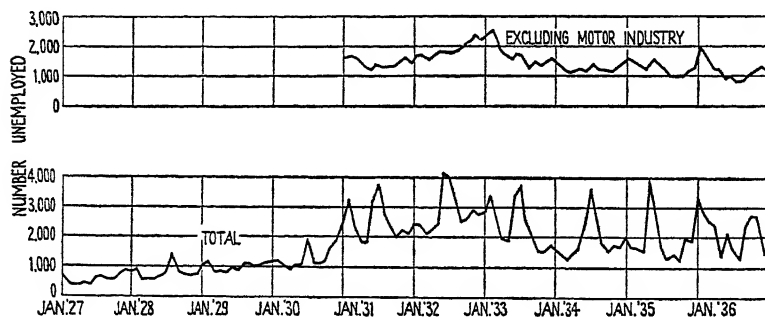


FIG. 25. Monthly Variations in Unemployment. Survey Area, 1927-36.
Insured Workers 16-64.

curve shows that there is in most years a very marked peak about July, and a much smaller one about the end of the year. The midsummer peak is entirely due to the seasonal slackness in the motor industry; it is this type of unemployment which dominates the whole picture. The upper curve shows the variations excluding unemployment in the motor industry for the years since 1931, the year in which this industry began to be subject to these large-scale stoppages. This curve is much more even than the other one. There is a year-end peak, which is entirely due to the winter stoppages in the building trade. Otherwise the only periodic tendency ascertainable is a slight sympathetic movement in phase with the motor stoppages.

Apart from the motor and building industries, there is little seasonal unemployment. Sample analyses were made of certain other industries, but the results were so small that a detailed inquiry

was not considered necessary. The distributive trades show the usual decrease in the later months of the year, with an increase after Christmas; there is also a slight increase in sympathy with the temporary stoppages in the motor industry, apparently due to decreased purchasing power. Public works contracting shows very little seasonal change, which is unusual. In most trades the volume of unemployment is so small that no positive conclusions are possible, but there can be little doubt that the only serious fluctuations are in the motor and building industries.

The fluctuations in the motor industry are very steep indeed, and their effect on the average volume of unemployment in the Area is marked. The same effect is observable throughout the country, and the cause is well known. People who have not bought their cars in time for the summer holidays prefer to wait for the new models at the autumn Motor Show, and manufacturers do not take the risk involved in producing for stock much ahead of the appearance of the new models. In effect, the Unemployment Insurance Scheme acts as a sort of subsidy to wages. Large numbers of workpeople can be stood off at short notice with the certainty that they will not seek work in other districts, since they are virtually sure of re-employment after a short period. It is interesting to find that the industry which is undoubtedly responsible for the low level of unemployment in the Area is itself responsible for much of what there is. Table 20 gives the number of unemployed registered in the Area for the years 1934 and 1935 in the Ministry of Labour classification 'Motor Vehicles, Cycles, and Aircraft Industry'. The percentage unemployed is also given for the country as a whole. The local motor manufacture is the predominant, though not the only, source of employment. For the country as a whole, however, other types of employment besides the manufacture of cars play a considerable part and account to some extent for the much narrower fluctuations. The seasonal tendency is observable, especially in 1935, but it is not outstanding. Even when allowance is made for the stability in the national figures due to their wider scope, we cannot but be impressed by the huge variations in the Area figures, from almost nil to over a quarter of the total insured workers employed. This large fluctuation is by far the most unsatisfactory feature of the employment situation in the Area.

Since 1936 it has been hoped to reduce the severity of the fluctuations in the local motor industry by adopting a new method of varying the models.¹ As a result the reduction of employment has

¹ See p. 90 above.

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TABLE 20

Unemployment in the motor vehicles, cycles, and aircraft industry in 1934 and 1935. Insured workers 16-64 (third Monday in each month)

	Survey Area		Great Britain and Northern Ireland
	Number	% of insured	% of insured
<i>1934</i>			
Jan.	231	2.8	10.6
Feb.	219	2.7	10.0
March	163	2.0	9.2
April	232	2.9	8.4
May	363	4.5	8.3
June	1,254	15.5	9.6
July	2,334	28.8	10.6
Aug.	1,360	16.8	11.5
Sept.	629	7.8	11.3
Oct.	332	4.1	9.5
Nov.	412	5.1	8.7
Dec.	285	3.5	8.0
<i>1935</i>			
Jan.	347	3.9	8.2
Feb.	273	3.1	8.4
March	331	3.7	7.7
April	297	3.3	7.2
May	2,394	26.8	8.8
June	1,212	13.6	10.1
July	535	6.0	9.3
Aug.	261	2.9	8.7
Sept.	408	4.6	8.2
Oct.	219	2.4	7.5
Nov.	774	8.7	7.8
Dec.	641	7.2	6.8

been more evenly distributed over the year and the period of unemployment has been less. In 1936 a fairly low level was maintained, but in 1937 the percentage unemployed in five months was higher than in any month in 1936 (Table 21). Evidently short-time working was more common in 1937 than in the previous year, and the advantage of avoiding long spells of unemployment was qualified by the inconvenience of irregularity of employment from one week to the next. The very different picture shown by the figures for Great Britain is probably largely due to the recent rapid expansion in the aircraft industry.

Most of the workers in the motor industry are classified by the Ministry of Labour as temporarily stopped,¹ and a useful separation

¹ Temporarily stopped workers are those whom the employers have undertaken to re-employ within six weeks.

TABLE 21*

Unemployment in the motor, &c., industry in 1936 and 1937. Insured workers 16-64

(third Monday in each month)

	Survey Area		Great Britain and Northern Ireland
	Number	% of insured	% of insured
<i>1936</i>			
Jan. . . .	1,375	14.5	6.7
Feb. . . .	1,165	12.3	7.2
March . . .	1,258	13.3	5.9
April . . .	1,189	12.5	5.4
May	421	4.4	4.8
June	1,104	11.6	6.0
July	797	8.4	6.3
Aug.	409	4.3	6.3
Sept.	1,303	13.7	5.7
Oct.	1,606	16.9	5.3
Nov.	1,348	14.2	4.7
Dec.	263	2.8	4.3
<i>1937</i>			
Jan.	2,745	25.5	4.8
Feb.	1,288	11.9	4.1
March	280	2.7	4.1
April	949	8.8	3.7
May	2,331	21.6	4.0
June	1,901	17.6	4.2
July	2,601	24.1	4.8
Aug.	2,683	24.9	5.7
Sept.†	1,644	15.3	5.1
Oct.	586	5.6	4.7
Nov.	654	6.3	5.6
Dec.	831	8.0	5.1

* No conclusions can be drawn from this table about the course of unemployment during the period, since the figures given are for but 12 days in each year and only serve as examples to illustrate the fluctuations experienced.

† See Appendix I, note 20.

can be made between the wholly and the temporarily stopped work-people. The following table (22) shows this relationship, and also the effect of this industry on the unemployment situation as a whole in the Area. The motor industry, which has given about a quarter of the total employment in the Area, has been responsible on the average for rather more than a third of the unemployment, but the majority of the unemployed have been only temporarily stopped and most of these men are back at work very soon.

Among Oxford men over 20, for example, the temporarily stopped figure dropped from 1,458 in July 1934, to 856 in August, 318 in September, and 80 in October; the corresponding figures for 1935 are: May 1,804 (peak), June 801, July 211, August 79.

TABLE 22

Unemployment in the motor industry in the Survey Area related to total unemployment, and showing temporary stoppages. Insured workers 16-64

	<i>Averages of monthly figures</i>			<i>Total as % of insured in motor industry</i>	<i>Average % of unemployment in all industries</i>	<i>% due to motor industry</i>
	<i>T.S.</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>			
1931	674	391	1,065	14.7	8.8	3.8
1932	502	423	925	14.0	10.0	3.3
1933	486	231	717	10.1	8.1	2.4
1934	491	160	651	8.0	6.0	2.2
1935	496	145	641	7.2	5.8*	2.0
1936	866	154	1,020	10.7	6.4*	3.0

* These figures differ slightly from those given in Table 18 because juveniles 14-15 have been excluded from this table.

The building trade all over the country has a marked seasonal increase in unemployment in the winter months. Taking the two years 1934-5 as illustrative of the local conditions, we get the figures given in Table 23. It will be observed that the figures for the Area compare very favourably not only with those for Great Britain but also with those for the south-eastern division. A considerable percentage of unemployment must always be expected in the building industry, owing to its dependence on the weather and the discontinuity that arises because of the completion of contracts. Thus the figures for the Area are in reality very low and indicate the great expansion in building which has taken place in this district.

Length of unemployment.

Outside the motor industry only a few workers in the Area are classified as temporarily stopped, but many of the wholly unemployed people have as good a chance of quick re-employment as the temporarily stopped. Some statistics are available which illustrate this, since the Ministry of Labour keeps records classifying wholly unemployed people according to the length of unemployment. A selection from the figures for 1935 is given in Table 24.

TABLE 23

Unemployment in the building industry in 1934 and 1935. Insured workers 16-64 (third Monday in each month)

	Survey Area		S.E. Division	Great Britain and Northern Ireland
	Number	% of insured	% of insured	% of insured
<i>1934</i>				
Jan.	384	9.1	15.6	25.0
Feb.	314	7.4	12.3	22.1
March	218	5.2	9.3	19.3
April	196	4.6	7.3	16.4
May	215	5.1	6.3	14.8
June	176	4.2	6.4	14.9
July	193	4.6	7.8	16.4
Aug.	181	4.3	7.7	15.8
Sept.	189	4.5	8.5	16.8
Oct.	259	6.1	9.7	17.8
Nov.	379	9.0	11.2	19.8
Dec.	369	8.7	12.6	21.0
<i>1935</i>				
Jan.	571	13.9	14.6	23.9
Feb.	451	11.0	11.6	20.8
March	353	8.6	7.6	16.4
April	294	7.2	6.6	14.7
May	390	9.5	6.1	13.9
June	288	7.0	6.0	13.7
July	195	4.7	6.6	14.3
Aug.	126	3.1	6.4	14.0
Sept.	152	3.7	7.5	14.7
Oct.	201	4.9	7.4	15.1
Nov.	308	7.5	9.1	16.9
Dec.	287	7.0	15.9	28.1

TABLE 24

Length of unemployment among wholly unemployed workers in the Survey Area, 1935. Insured workers 16-64

Length of time since registration	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Less than 4 weeks . .	353	339	290	355	368	445	608	574
5 to 8 weeks	285	176	162	129	116	135	199	226
9 to 24 weeks	327	268	231	138	125	119	166	182
25 to 52 weeks	95	108	95	68	62	55	53	50
Over 1 year	54	72	92	53	29	30	36	37

It will be seen from Table 24 that there is very little long-term unemployment in the Survey Area. In the case of a few skilled workers there is some degree of unemployment due to a decline in demand for their particular form of craftsmanship, but as regards unskilled workers we can assume with safety that most of those who have been unemployed for more than six months are in some way below the standard required for the wages and conditions in the Area. This assumption is supported by the results of an inquiry¹ made into the industrial history of 22 persons out of the 25 Oxford workers who had been, in October 1937, wholly unemployed for more than a year. One-third of the cases investigated were people of 60 years of age, while another third were between 45 and 60. In the latter group there were 4 disabled men. Thus in one-half of the cases analysed, long unemployment was the result of old age or infirmity. At least 16 out of the 22 workers were unskilled. In the case of Abingdon, the closing of the clothing factory already referred to accounts for most of the unemployment in the 'over 1 year' group. It has been the general experience all over the country that elderly people who have once lost their jobs experience great difficulty in finding new employment. A considerable proportion of the wholly unemployed workers, however, are sub-standard people who are only suitable for casual jobs or for helping with a temporary pressure, and who, after a short period of work, are thrown on the labour market again until they are once more reabsorbed into casual employment. It appears that the only reduction of unemployment possible in the Area would be obtained if the motor industry could ensure constant employment, and apparently this is almost out of the question with a product not as yet standardized and consequently subject to a somewhat unpredictable demand.

Conclusion.

In the last twenty years employment in the Area has been growing rapidly. There has not been any serious long-term unemployment problem comparable with that which other areas have had to face. The main feature of the local unemployment position has been the periodical unemployment arising from the irregular nature of the work in the Area's principal industry. The fact that in the last few years local unemployment has never fallen below 5.6 per cent., although it reached a much lower level before 1929, when the activity of trade was certainly no greater, suggests the moral that there may be a

¹ Carried out by J. H. Wilson of the Institute of Statistics.

tendency throughout the country as a whole for minimum unemployment to grow.

It is clear that the situation in the whole Area is precarious, depending as it does on the continued expansion of the motor industry. The study of industry shows that the growth of other industries has been small except for changes consequent on this main growth.¹ There is therefore no reason to suppose that if the motor industry ceased to expand, this Area would continue to enjoy conditions so much better than in the country as a whole. If the motor industry generally, or the local industry in particular, should enter on a period of depression, it seems probable that the Oxford area would pass from a state of unusual prosperity to one with a serious problem of unemployment. In this event, it might prove difficult to dispose of surplus local labour through emigration to other districts.

It is also possible that the Area will have an unemployment problem in the future for another reason. The standard work in the motor industry is most suitable for fairly young men, and most of the employees are in fact young. It is feared that as they become elderly, they will have some difficulty in keeping up with the demands of mass production; and if this is the case and they become unemployed, experience suggests that they will find it extremely difficult to find alternative occupations. This conclusion, however, is rather speculative and other industrial changes may take place before there are a large number of men who have grown up with what is still a comparatively young industry. What is certain is that the general prosperity of the Area is closely bound up with that of its main industry.

¹ See Chapters IV and V above.

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¹ See Chapters IV and V above.

CHAPTER VII

RETAIL SHOPS¹

CONVENIENT shopping facilities are amongst the most important of the amenities of everyday life for the ordinary householder. In old towns the majority of the shops are usually clustered in the centre of the town within easy reach of the surrounding houses. Recently these congested districts have in many cases been cleared and the inhabitants moved to new housing estates on the outskirts of the town, where new-comers to the neighbourhood have also settled. Oxford is a typical example of this kind of development. The number of people living on the outskirts of the city has increased rapidly, but the main shopping centre of the town still appears to be around Carfax. Does the material available confirm this impression? To what extent is Oxford the shopping centre for the surrounding villages? How, if at all, have retail traders met the new conditions by starting businesses near the new housing estates?² These are some of the questions which will be considered in the following pages, and if they can be answered they will throw an interesting light on the adaptability of uncontrolled commercial enterprise to changing conditions. There is generally a period of delay between the arrival of new residents in the new housing estates and the establishment of new shops, for traders wait to see the number and class of customers they may expect before launching out to meet the new demand. Such a time-lag may be a source of considerable inconvenience and expense (owing to fares and to a lack of choice of goods) to housewives. Much attention is being paid in this Survey to the question of the adaptability of local government institutions to the needs of the new Oxford. This chapter will be of particular interest if it is regarded as throwing light on the speed and efficiency of commercial readjustments as compared with the administrative readjustments which are the concern of other parts of this study.

The main source of information used for this chapter was the classified lists of traders given in Kelly's Directories of Oxford, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire. The picture which follows of the shopping facilities at the disposal of the inhabitants of the Survey Area can only be given in broad outline, as precise conclusions cannot be

¹ The writer wishes to thank Mr. R. F. Bretherton for assistance in drawing up this report, Miss R. L. Cohen for organizing the inquiry into the buying centres of local villages, and the many helpers who carried out this investigation.

² A short discussion of the establishment of branch shops is contained in Appendix V.

drawn from this material. In a number of cases similar types of trading (e.g. bakers, bakers and confectioners) have been amalgamated under one heading and the duplications thus involved have been eliminated. Gross and net totals were then calculated; the former shows the number of departments and is arrived at by taking the sum of the entries under all the trade headings (after the amalgamations mentioned above have been made); the latter is the number of shops and is obtained by eliminating all the duplications which arise from the appearance of the same shop in more than one category, e.g. as both a florist and a fruiterer. The difference between the two totals is, therefore, an indication of the extent of multiple trading.¹ Gross and net totals were also calculated for five separate classes of shop, namely, A. Food, drink, and tobacco; B. Clothing and personal; C. Furniture and household goods; D. Books, sports, and amusements; E. Miscellaneous. The years between which the change in the number of shops is measured are 1921² and 1935. The geographical units are Oxford County Borough, Woodstock Municipal Borough, Abingdon Municipal Borough, and a group of sixty-five villages.³ In order to make the figures comparable the areas in 1935 of the above districts have been taken as their areas in 1921.

*Changes between 1921 and 1935.*⁴

The increase in the number of shops between 1921 and 1935 was small considering the industrial expansion of the district; the total of shops in the whole Area increased from 2,539 in 1921 to 2,888 in 1935, an increase of 14 per cent.⁵ In both years specialized shops formed by far the greater proportion of all shops; in 1921 only 142 (5.6 per cent. of all shops) and in 1935 only 114 (4 per cent. of all shops) were listed as engaged in more than one type of trading. Qualification of this result is necessary where the villages are concerned, since the description of 'shopkeeper' or 'general shop' is given to the traditional village shop which still exists in most villages, providing a wide range of goods which are limited, however, both in quantity and quality.

¹ No more than an indication, since some shops which stock a wide range of goods appear under an omnibus heading such as 'Bazaars'.

² See Appendix I, note 22.

³ See Appendix I, note 23.

⁴ See Table in Appendix I, note 21.

⁵ This increase was apparently accompanied by a slight decline in the number of departmental stores, since the total of departments increased by only 12 per cent. (from 2,717 to 3,035). Much reliance cannot, however, be placed upon this conclusion, since the difference in the rates of increase is so small that it may well be accounted for by variations in classification in the two years.

The increase in the number of shops was considerably less proportionately than the growth in the population. The number of departments per 1,000 families decreased from 114 in 1921 to 88¹ in 1935. The number per 1,000 persons declined rather less, from 26 in 1921 to 22² in 1935. This decrease is a consequence of the decline in the size of the family unit, a development which has been common to the whole country in the post-war period.

The division of shops between the five classes altered but slightly during the period; the order of magnitude was the same in 1921 as in 1935. Class A (food, drink, and tobacco) had the largest number of shops and was followed by classes B, C, E, D, in that order. Despite this relative stability there were some interesting variations in the development of the different classes, reflecting changes in both local and national conditions and habits.

The number of shops in class A grew rather more than did the total of all shops: it increased by 17 per cent.³ This is presumably a result of the building of housing estates on the outskirts of Oxford and in the neighbouring villages. The purchase of foodstuffs is largely a day-to-day affair, particularly to the urbanized population which inhabits the greater proportion of the new houses; the opening of a food shop in the middle of the town would not, therefore, be such an attractive proposition to the retailer as its establishment in the new residential centres. Class B (clothing and personal) only increased by 2 per cent., the smallest increase among the five classes. This is due rather to a diminution in the number of shops in the old urban areas than to a failure to respond to new centres of custom. Class D (books, sports, and amusements) increased considerably more than any of the other classes, that is, by 38 per cent. This increase is fully accounted for by the establishment of garages and shops dealing in wireless equipment.

Within class A (food, drink, and tobacco) the most notable changes took place among the shops classified as beer retailers and dairymen and cow-keepers. A widespread change in social habits since the War is reflected here, for, whereas beer retailers furnished 11.3 per cent. of the total number of departments in the class in 1921, by 1935 the proportion had fallen to 7.5 per cent. This decline was balanced to some extent by an increase in the number of dairymen and cow-keepers, but milk has evidently not been the only substitute for beer.

¹ This is an estimated figure. It has been assumed that families increased in 1931-5 in the same proportion as houses.

² Estimated. Based on the figures given in Chapter II above.

³ Net totals are used here. The same shop may appear in more than one class, but not more than once in a class.

Other interesting points are the appearance of fried-fish shops—there were none in 1921, but 18 in 1935—and the growth in the number of restaurants, which almost doubled (35 in 1921, 69 in 1935). The former change is probably a result of the influx of industrial workers (the fried-fish establishments are particularly prominent in the east ward of Oxford City), while the latter is a consequence of the increasing tendency of undergraduates to have their meals out of college, in the hope of economizing, and of the growing popularity of Oxford as a tourist centre.

In class B (clothing and personal) there was a slight increase in the dress and tailoring departments, a group which in both years provided about one-third of the total number of departments in the class, but the most pronounced changes were among hairdressers and saddlers. The former increased from 55 to 94 shops, while the latter were practically halved (30 in 1921, 16 in 1935). The decline in the number of saddlers is, of course, an inevitable consequence of the decrease in horse transport. The growth in the number of hairdressers is symptomatic of the spread of permanent hair-waving amongst all classes of the community, one manifestation of the general spread of interest in beauty culture.

The outstanding change in class C (furniture and household goods) is the increase in the number of electrical engineering shops, from 11 in 1921 (2.5 per cent. of all departments in the class) to 40 in 1935 (8.6 per cent.). Furnishing departments changed in number but slightly. Perhaps the most interesting change in the furnishing group is the diminution in the number of antique dealers (22 in 1921, 15 in 1935), due to the supersession of the immediate post-war fashion for old furniture by the present-day fashion for modernistic furnishings. The instability of this trade is remarkable, only 6 of the 22 firms trading in 1921 survived to 1935; the effect of the vagaries of fashion is probably intensified by the lack of commercial training of many owners of antique shops. A surprising change among class C shops is the increase in the number of chimney-sweeps from 22 in 1921 to 32 in 1935; one would have thought that the increased installation of gas and electric fires and cooking-stoves would have been a serious blow to this profession. Moreover, the growth in their number was accompanied by a slight decrease in that of coal-merchants (92 to 83, which means a decline of 3.3 per cent. in their importance in the class).

Class D (books, sports, and amusements) includes wireless dealers and garages, and the increase in the number of these was considerable. The garages formed 21.1 per cent. of the departments in the class in

1921 and 28.1 per cent. in 1935, but the most striking feature in this class is the complete absence of wireless shops in 1921 and their comparative importance in 1935. In the latter year they formed 10.6 per cent. of the total number of departments in the class and numbered 54 departments. This type of shop seems to be one which is suited to the small man, and its establishment in response to a rapidly growing demand is therefore easy.

Other shops catering mainly for leisure activities show various changes. Photographers and photographic dealers and stationers declined (the former from 44 to 36, the latter from 25 to 12). The number of bookshops decreased from 27 to 20, a decrease which is probably due not to a decline in reading but to the extended use of lending libraries, public and commercial. The growth in the number of newsagents from 25 to 41 testifies to the growing appeal of national newspapers with their wide range of articles and to an added interest in national news, especially sporting. The enthusiasm for outdoor games which has become more marked in recent years has stimulated the increase of athletic outfitters from 4 in 1921 to 14 in 1935. On the other hand, cycle dealers have decreased from 54 to 50, but the use of garages, at any rate for repairs, probably explains this.

In class E (miscellaneous) there was an increase in the predominating group, 'shopkeepers',¹ from 162 to 212 (51.2 per cent. of the whole class to 61.6 per cent.). This was mainly due to a larger number in the villages. Blacksmiths diminished in number, as was to be expected; in 1921 they formed 16.5 per cent. of the class, by 1935 the proportion had sunk to 9.9 per cent.

A study of the reports of the Oxford Co-operative and Industrial Society for the second half-year of 1920 and the first half-year of 1935 provides an illuminating commentary on the effect of the growing population on Oxford's retail trade. In that period the total membership (i.e. inclusive of non-trading members) of the society increased from 12,535 to 26,290 and the net sales rose from £257,000 to £450,000,² an increase which must represent a considerably greater increase proportionately in the quantity of goods sold, since the Ministry of Labour's index of retail food prices declined from 272 to 121 in this period. The net sales in the various departments altered in very different degrees. Grocery and bakery sales with an

¹ This description is used in the directories for the small general shop which stocks a variety of goods but not in sufficient quantities to justify inclusion under the other trade headings.

² It is interesting to note that in the same period the amount of 'owings' grew from £1,638 to £12,023.

increase of 25 per cent. did not keep pace with the total increase in sales (75 per cent.). On the other hand, tailoring and furnishing sales had much greater rates of increase than the average, although the outfitting department suffered the considerable decline of 25 per cent. These figures seem to point to an increased patronage of the society by men for buying clothes but a declining one by women. Some important changes took place in the food departments. Fish, greengroceries, and fruit were sold in 1921, but had been abandoned by 1935. During this period, however, butchery and milk departments had been added and it is to these new undertakings that the rise in total net sales was largely due, since between them they brought in over £100,000 in the first half-year of 1935. The success of these departments may reasonably be linked up with the growth in the population on the outskirts of Oxford, for two butchery travelling vans were started in 1931 and milk is, of course, always delivered, so that distance from the central or a local branch of the society was not a hindrance to prospective customers. The evidence for this conclusion is strengthened by the sudden increase (14 per cent.) between 1935 and 1937 (first half-years in both cases) in net sales in the grocery departments, for a grocery travelling van was started in the summer of 1935.

Shopping facilities in town and country.

When the geographical distribution of shops in the Area is studied, here too are found the effects of the growing population. There were only slight changes between 1921 and 1935 in the distribution of shops¹ as between Oxford, Abingdon, Woodstock, and the villages. There was a small increase in the number of shops found in villages relatively to the increase of those in Oxford and Abingdon. Whereas rural shops increased by 29.5 per cent. Oxford shops only increased by 12 per cent. and Abingdon shops declined slightly in number. It does not appear, therefore, as if the growing importance of Oxford as an industrial centre has stolen trade from village retailers as a whole, despite the improvement in transport and delivery services from the city since 1921. The changing nature of Oxford and its environs has, however, altered the distribution within the rural area. Shops in the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford increased out of all proportion to the increase in all village shops. If the growing villages

¹ In the following paragraphs net totals are used, as the use of gross totals would mean an underestimation of the importance of the villages owing to the ubiquity of the general shop there.

in the environs of Oxford¹ are taken it is found that the number of shops in these places increased from 116 to 200, an increase of 72.4 per cent.; in the remainder of the villages, on the other hand, there was an increase of only 13.7 per cent. (from 315 to 358). A measure of the growing importance of the first group of villages is seen in the expanding trade of the Co-operative Society's branch at Kidlington, where the net sales grew by 183 per cent. in the period 1920-35.

Oxford shops did not increase in number in any class relatively to those in the villages, but classes D and E are the only ones in which there was a significant proportionate decline. In 1921, 82.4 per cent. of the shops in class D (books, sports, and amusements) were in Oxford; by 1935 this percentage had sunk to 72.5 per cent. while the proportion in the villages had increased from 8.4 to 17.6 per cent. This shift is due to the establishment in villages of garages and motor engineers; here again there is, in villages, an attractive field of venture for the small man. In 1935, 25 of the villages had a garage, a cycle dealer, or a wireless dealer, whereas in 1921 only 10 villages had one or both of the first two types of trader. In class E (miscellaneous) the proportions in Oxford and the villages in 1921 were 64.2 and 28.8 per cent. respectively; by 1935 these had become 60 and 32.5 per cent.

It will be seen from the above figures that the degree of concentration in Oxford in 1935 varied quite widely between the different classes. The presence of shopkeepers in class E accounts for the position of this class at the bottom of the list, with 60 per cent. in Oxford. Twenty-seven villages had no 'shopkeeper'. In most cases this is accounted for by the smallness of the place, in a few by the largeness, since there is then sufficient custom for more specialized shops to be established. Of the former group the villages of Hensington Without, Lyford, and Woodeaton had no shops at all. The first-named is practically continuous with Woodstock, and Oxford is within easy reach of the last, but Lyford seems to be very cut off from the world. The same villages had no shops in 1921, when Elsfield and Frilford shared the same plight.

Oxford contained, in 1935, 65 per cent. of the shops in class A. Public houses helped to weigh the figures in favour of the villages, but the distribution of these is, of course, not left to determination by commercial factors alone. Thirteen parishes were without a public house in 1935, i.e. Sunningwell, Elsfield, Blenheim, Denton, Draycott Moor, Frilford, Garford, Hensington Without, Lyford, Nuneham Courtenay, Thomley, Tubney, and Woodeaton. Two of

¹ See Appendix I, note 24.

them, Frilford and Nuneham Courtenay, had hotels and one of them, Sunningwell, had a beer retailer.

Shops which deal in the more irregularly purchased goods like clothes were, in 1935, almost entirely confined to Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock, which, between them, accounted for 91.2 per cent. of all the shops in class B. It must be remembered that clothes like stockings, overalls, and flannel trousers, in which much variety is not, in a village, demanded, can often be bought at the village shop.

The reports of the Oxford Co-operative Society confirm these results. In the first half-year of 1935, 85 per cent. of the net sales in the outfitting, tailoring, and boots departments were made by the Oxford branches of the society, while only 70 per cent. of the net sales in the grocery and butchery departments were so made.

Some light can be thrown on the question of the importance of Oxford as the shopping centre of the surrounding area as the result of a small house-to-house inquiry which was carried out in the villages in 1936. The results of the investigation must be used with caution owing to the smallness of the inquiry, doubts as to the randomness of the sample, and the difficulty of obtaining exact information about each of a long list of commodities. However, sufficient material was obtained to supplement the account already given of the distribution of shops in the Area. The inquiry was made in nine villages or groups of villages,¹ of different sizes and scattered over the Survey Area. The total number of returns received was 134, the number from the different places varying from 11 to 25.

When the commodities² sold by shops in class A (food, drink, and tobacco) are considered, it is found that if the returns relating to all these goods are totalled, rather less than half of them show a local source of supply (the number is 473 out of 1,074). The rest of the shopping was done mainly in Oxford, Abingdon, or Witney according to the location of the village. In a few cases shops in a neighbouring village were patronized.³ Eynsham appears to be the most self-contained village, able to supply all the foodstuffs on the list. The people of Islip and Standlake were quite well served by their own shops, but neither could buy fish on the spot. The extent to which a local source of supply was used varied considerably between the different foodstuffs. Milk and eggs were almost entirely locally

¹ See Appendix I, note 25.

² See Appendix I, note 26.

³ Delivery services are disregarded in this discussion and buying at the door from a van is counted as local or otherwise according to the location of the shop to which the van belonged.

supplied, and in so far as vegetables were bought at all they were in the main bought in the home village.¹ Tobacco, too, was bought rather more locally than elsewhere; the place of work of the male wage-earners seemed to be the determining factor here. The rest of the commodities were, in more than half the returns, bought elsewhere than locally. Fish was practically entirely bought elsewhere, only 6 out of the 102 returns give it as bought locally; meat was almost in the same case. Roughly two-thirds of the returns give fruit and butter as bought outside the village, presumably because the imported kinds were desired and a range of price and quality cannot usually be provided by village shops. A similar lack of choice probably accounts for the fact that the larger proportion of groceries was bought other than locally. Bread was purchased slightly less at home than away, but there was a tendency for the returns from each village to show either all bread bought locally or all bought elsewhere, indicating presumably that if a local baker existed he would be patronized.

The purchase of clothing locally was insignificant. Only 6 out of 406 returns record a local source of supply. Most of the shopping was done in the neighbouring towns, but buying by mail order, chiefly from Manchester or London, is shown in a few cases, while in others, periodic expeditions to London or Reading to buy clothes are recorded. Occasionally the goods were obtained from towns not in the locality because they were bought through a club.

The other commodities about which information was sought were household goods, coal, paraffin, and newspapers. The first named of these were bought only to a small extent in the village. Coal was ordered in the case of 45 returns out of 115 from a local agent. Local and other sources of supply were patronized about equally for newspapers and paraffin.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the inquiry, it may be said that its results accord with the description given of the distribution of shops over the Area. They show that the purchase of clothing is almost entirely confined to the towns and thus they supplement the figures given on p. 117. On the other hand, foodstuffs are bought to a fair extent locally and this is both cause and effect of the more even distribution of food shops over the Area.

In the urban areas the most radical developments have taken place in Oxford, the centre of the new industrialization of the district. The changes in the number of shops in Abingdon and Woodstock

¹ Cases where the goods were produced at home are not included. Of these goods vegetables and eggs were the most frequent. In no case was bread home-made.

between 1921 and 1935 were inconsiderable. The Abingdon figures show a slight decrease, from 228 in 1921 to 220 in 1935, while Woodstock shops increased from 56 to 67. This position is rather surprising in view of the growing importance of Abingdon as a small industrial centre, but the differences between the two places are probably indicated by the quality rather than the quantity of their shops.

Shopping facilities within Oxford City.

The shops in Oxford have been classified according to their location in the seven wards of the city. The number of departments in the old wards of the city declined slightly during the period 1921-35. A decrease took place in the north, west, and south wards. The number of departments in the east ward was the same (423) in both years. The west ward departments decreased from 453 to 425, and the south ward departments from 423 to 392. In both these wards the new houses which have been built are within fairly easy reach of the centre of the town and they have not, therefore, been an incentive to the establishment of shops. The effect of the 'improvement' of St. Aldate's is seen in the south ward figures, since it has involved the demolition of shops which have not yet been replaced. The decline in the number of north ward departments was inconsiderable, from 416 to 405.

The position in the new wards is in marked contrast. The extension of the city boundaries in 1929 and the development of new housing estates on the outskirts of the old city have naturally entailed a growth in the number of shops in the Cowley and Iffley, Headington, and Summertown and Wolvercote wards. It must be remembered that town planning schemes influence the number of shops near the new housing estates, since under them certain areas are scheduled as zones for shops. In Oxford, however, this factor has not at present had any effect in limiting the number of shops, since the zones allotted have been found adequate for all the shops for which applications have been made. However, since shop sites are often not provided at the same time as the houses are built, particularly on the city council estates, the time which elapses before shops appear may be a source of considerable inconvenience and irritation to the inhabitants.

The Cowley and Iffley ward experienced the largest increase in the number of departments, that is from 41 to 194. It was followed by Headington with an increase from 107 to 184. In the Summertown and Wolvercote ward there was a much smaller increase, from 109

to 135. These changes have, of course, altered the relative distribution between the wards. Whereas in 1921 the north, south, east, and west wards had 86.8 per cent. of all the departments, by 1935 the proportion had become 76.2 per cent.

An attempt has been made to gauge the shopping facilities available to the residents in the new and the old wards by calculating the number of departments per 1,000 families in each of the two groups of wards. This cannot be done very satisfactorily since neither housing statistics nor estimates of population are available for the separate wards. It has, therefore, been necessary to take the 1931 census figures as they stand. On this basis the following results have been obtained :

	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Number of depts.</i>	<i>Number of depts. per 1,000 families</i>
Old wards . .	11,385	1,645	145
New wards . .	7,206	513	71

It is apparent that shops are very unevenly distributed over the city; the difference, in fact, in 1935 between the two groups of wards is greater than appears from the figures, as the number of families in the new wards is certainly an underestimate.

The different classes of shop have spread into the new wards fairly evenly. Since 1921 the redistribution of departments between the two areas has been as follows: the number in the old wards declined by 4.0 per cent., while those in the new wards almost doubled in number (257 in 1921, 513 in 1935), in 1935 providing 23.8 per cent. of all departments as against 13.2 per cent. in 1921. The number of departments in the new wards belonging to each of the classes A, B, and C bears much the same proportion (about 25 per cent.) in all three cases to the total number of departments in the class; compared with these classes, class D (books, sports, and amusements) is rather under-represented and class E (miscellaneous) is slightly over-represented. In view of the small increase (5 per cent.) in the number of departments in class B (clothing and personal) in the whole of the city, it is surprising to find that when the proportion to all the departments in each group of wards is calculated, departments of this kind were as well represented in the new wards as in the old, i.e. the proportion is just over 20 per cent. in both cases. There was, in fact, a decline in class B in three of the four old wards, while in the Cowley and Iffley ward there was an increase from 5 to 42 and there were also increases, though much smaller ones, in the other new wards. It must not be assumed from these figures that the old wards have suffered a decline

in facilities for buying clothes; the figures are based on gross totals, but they cannot take into account the expansion of the big drapers' shops in the centre of the city.

Mention may be made here of some figures given in an article in the *Economic Journal*,¹ showing the number of shops per 1,000 families for twelve towns in 1931. The average number was 77.5. The Oxford figure for 1935 was about 65.² The range in the figures for the other towns is from 49.4 in Middlesbrough to 99.6 in Bolton. It does not appear that there is any correlation between the type of town and the number of shops per 1,000 families, and it is not therefore known whether the position in Oxford is more characteristic of a residential or of an industrial centre. It may be pointed out, however, that its rapid increase in population must have reduced its position in comparison with other places.

The university.

The establishment in Oxford of shops of a certain type, such as tailoring in which branches of several London shops exist in the town, has been stimulated by the presence of the university.³ Before the War the custom from the colleges was intermittent, since out of term only a comparatively few university people remained in residence. Now, not only do a large number of senior members spend a considerable part of the vacation in Oxford but also, since the War, and increasingly in recent years, the holding of residential conferences in the colleges during the vacations has made the colleges a practically continuous source of custom for the tradespeople.⁴ In 1935,⁵ £147,101 was spent by the colleges on provisions, and it is estimated⁶ that 88 per cent. (£129,300) of this amount was spent at Oxford shops. It is clear from these figures that the colleges are very important customers of Oxford retailers and that they may justifiably claim that they give a strong measure of support to local shops.

Conclusion.

The material which has been analysed in this section shows that the suburbs of Oxford are ill-provided with shopping facilities compared with the older parts of the city. It is probably true to say that this situation is found a hardship by the inhabitants of the new

¹ P. Ford, *Economic Journal*, Sept. 1935.

² See Appendix I, note 27.

³ But see p. 81 above for the present-day position as regards tailoring.

⁴ In the summer vacation of 1937 fifty-six residential conferences were held in the colleges.

⁵ From July 1934 to July 1935 in the case of the women's colleges.

⁶ From figures kindly supplied by fifteen colleges and halls.

housing estates. Some factors which may alleviate the situation may, however, be mentioned here. Two of the most essential foodstuffs, milk and bread, are delivered daily in urban areas; the distance from the shop patronized is, therefore, immaterial to the customer. For the less perishable victuals many housewives make a weekly expedition to the market and lay in a week's supply, at the same time making purchases from the shops in the centre of the town. The buying of clothes and durable household goods is necessarily infrequent, and the lack of a shop near at hand where these things can be bought is probably not felt. Also, special bargains in the sales can be offered by the big drapers and furnishing shops which a small establishment in the suburbs cannot afford.¹ It may be surmised that the goods which people like to be able to buy more or less on their doorsteps are tobacco, confectionery, small articles of haberdashery, and groceries such as sugar, tea, and butter. Shops selling these commodities are spread fairly evenly over the different wards of the city. As regards the villages, the 'shopkeeper' can usually provide these goods, although he is often only used in an emergency since his prices are frequently higher than those charged in a town. Delivery services in the villages seem to be quite good on the whole and the ubiquity of the Co-operative Society's vans must be appreciated by many rural householders.

¹ The custom of offering bargains in some goods, e.g. Witney blankets, at the time of St. Giles' Fair may be mentioned here.

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURE¹

THE two preceding chapters have been concerned with some of the industrial and commercial activities of the Survey Area. In this chapter the agricultural industry of the district is described. In former days, agriculture might well have taken first place in any description of the economic life of Oxford and its neighbourhood, since Oxfordshire was a purely agricultural county until the post-war period. But now, the agricultural industry here has become of secondary importance in so far as the employment it provides and the interest it arouses are concerned. This is partly accounted for by the general, world-wide depression which has overtaken agriculture in recent years, but it is also due to more special and local reasons. Oxford has become industrialized owing to the establishment of the flourishing motor industry. This has reacted upon the local agricultural industry in two ways. In the first place the supply of workers has diminished, as the men have been attracted to the motor factories by the high wages prevailing there. Secondly, building has spread out into the country-side around Oxford, converting many villages into suburban settlements and many fields into sites for housing estates, and breaking up farms by inflating land values far beyond their agricultural level. The report which follows traces the effects of some of these new factors affecting agriculture in the Area, as well as describing the natural conditions in which the industry works.

Soils.

From the agricultural standpoint the Survey Area has not been particularly well endowed by nature. For the most part the soil is poor in natural fertility and yields per acre are accordingly below the average for the country as a whole. The principal soils found in the Area may be classified for agricultural purposes under five main heads, distributed as shown in the diagrammatic map on p. 124.

The alluvium of the valleys of the Thames, the Windrush, and the Evenlode, generally a heavy, rather peaty soil (as in Port Meadow), grows somewhat poor grass. In the valleys of the Cherwell and the Thame, however, it is considerably more productive, and the meadows in the neighbourhood of Waterstock and Waterperry are

¹ The writers wish to thank Mr. O. J. Beilby of the Oxford University Agricultural Economics Research Institute for his help in preparing material for this report. They are also indebted to the helpers who carried out the field inquiry.

among the best in the Area. The one great drawback of this soil is its liability to flooding. A more productive, deeper soil, where good yields can generally be obtained and on which most of the arable area of the district is found, is the valley gravel. This occurs in well-marked terraces in the Thames valley north of Oxford, between

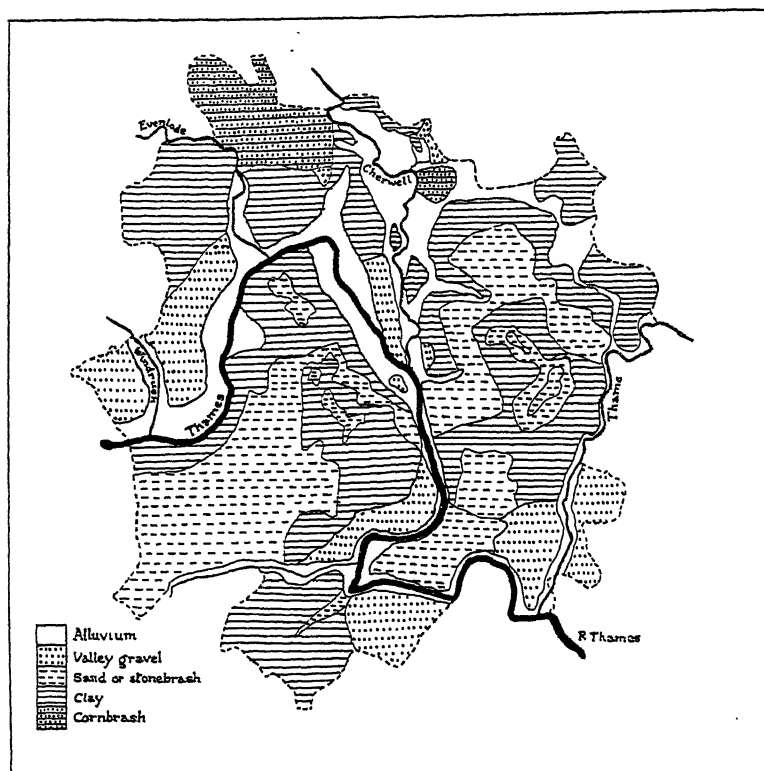


FIG. 26. Approximate Distribution of Soil Types in the Area.

Eynsham and Bampton, and near Clifton Hampden and Drayton St. Leonard. The soil is less liable to suffer during droughts than most of the soils in the Area. Above the level of the valley gravel and alluvium between Oxford, Bladon, and Islip, and nearer to the river, particularly in the parishes of Radley, Horspath, Wheatley, and Denton, most of the land is clay. Cultivation is confined to the lighter portions and elsewhere only rather poor grass is grown. Most of the remainder of the soil in the Area is sandy. Between Elsfeld and Holton, at Sandford and Iffley, and between Cumnor and Frilford the coarse sands are easily worked but suffer, like most light

soils, from dry seasons. This soil is suitable for market gardening, and is used for this purpose at Kingston Bagpuize and also at Sandford and Iffley, both conveniently near the market of Oxford. The soil is also sandy on the hills between Garsington, Cuddesdon, and Shotover. Near Culham, Nuneham Courtenay, and Clifton

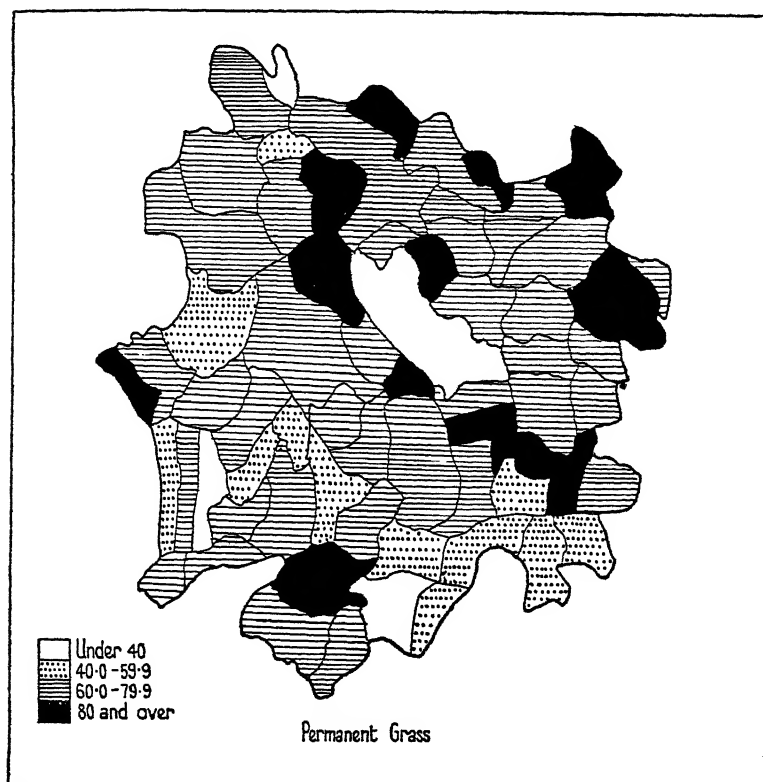


FIG. 27 (a). Percentage of Permanent Grass-land to the Cultivated Area in each Parish, 1933.

Hampden a more productive sandy loam, resting on the lower Greensand strata, is much less liable to burn and gives good crops. Finally, in the parishes of Bladon, Woodstock, and Blenheim is found the thin cornbrash soil, containing much broken limestone. This is sheep and barley country *par excellence*—a form of farming unprofitable with present levels of prices and wages. Land of this type is too light for wheat growing or pastures.

As regards the types of farming carried on, the Survey Area does not possess any very striking features distinguishing it from British

agriculture in general. In the Survey Area 81 per cent. of the total area is used for agricultural purposes, compared with 68 per cent. in the country as a whole. The arable proportion of the land under crops and grass is 33 per cent. as compared with 37 per cent. for England and Wales. The arable acreage is highest, on the whole, on

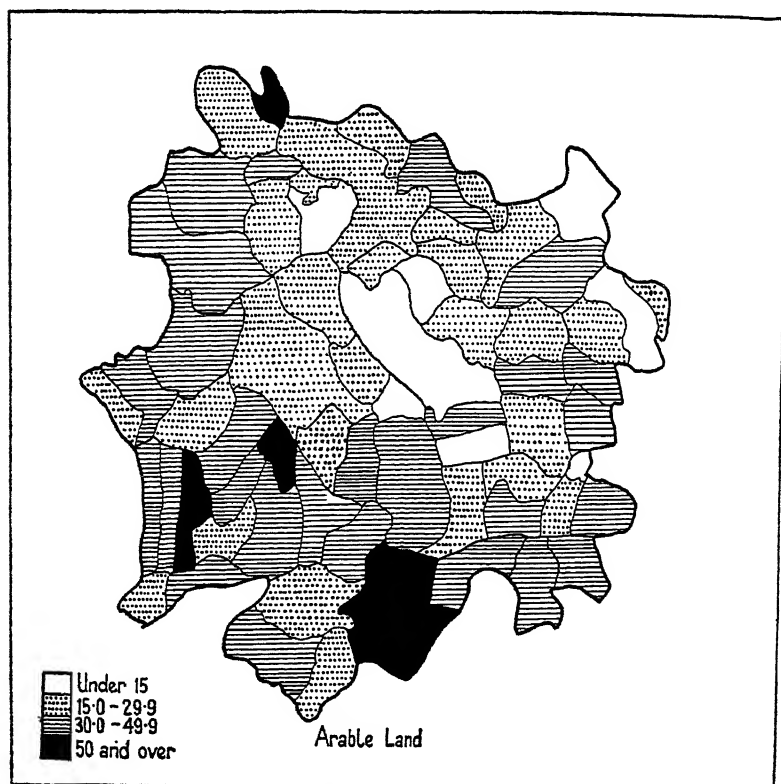


FIG. 27 (b). Percentage of Arable Land to the Cultivated Area in each Parish, 1933.

those light soils which require least labour to work. As the map (Fig. 27*b*) shows, the percentage of arable is usually above 30 in the southern parishes where the soil is sandy, and even exceeds 50 per cent. on the deep sandy soils of Culham and Nuneham Courtenay.

Crops.

Table 25 shows the acreages devoted to the various crops in the Survey Area in 1933, compared with England and Wales. Wheat, the most important crop, was grown to some extent in every parish, but,

like oats, it was most important in the south-east. Barley was once an important crop in the Oxford district, but by 1933 it was only in the north that it occupied as much land as oats. Among the root crops, the cultivation of sugar-beet, which has in recent years been of some importance in other parts of the country, was almost non-existent in the Area. Potatoes, too, only occupied more than a few acres in one or two villages, notably Kingston Bagpuize and Littlemore. Kingston Bagpuize was also exceptional in that it had 40 acres devoted to hops. About two-thirds of the rotation grass was cut as hay and the rest was used for grazing. Seven per cent. of the arable land of the Area was devoted to fruit and vegetables. Cabbage was the most important vegetable crop, but was grown mostly for fodder and not for human consumption. The area under small fruit in 1933 was 82 acres, of which more than half were at Kingston Bagpuize, where there was a large fruit farm. Strawberries accounted for half of the small fruit acreage and currants and gooseberries for a quarter. Some 576 acres were occupied by orchards.

TABLE 25
Utilization of arable land in the Survey Area, 1933

	Survey Area		England and Wales
	Acres	% of total	% of total
Wheat	9,731	29.6	18.0
Oats	4,651	14.1	16.2
Barley	2,949	9.0	8.1
Potatoes	1,166	3.5	5.6
Turnips, swedes, and mangolds	2,835	8.6	8.6
Bare fallow	3,434	10.4	5.0
Temporary grass	4,544	13.8	22.4
Other crops	3,608	11.0	16.1
Total	32,918	100.0	100.0

Live stock.

The production of live stock is now far more important in the Area than the production of crops, much of which are devoted to providing food for cattle; it is probable that more than three-quarters of the agricultural income of the Area is obtained from the sale of live-stock products.

In the course of an inquiry into some aspects of agriculture in the Area thirty of the farmers who were visited were asked their principal source of income.¹ Seventeen of these gave dairy produce as their

¹ See Appendix I, note 28.

major source of income and six gave other live-stock products. Only five gave wheat and corn (Table 26).

TABLE 26

Sources of farm income of farmers visited in the Survey Area

	<i>Most important source. Number of farms</i>	<i>Second most important source. Number of farms</i>
Dairy produce . . .	17	3
Wheat and corn . . .	5	8
Cattle (for beef) . . .	2	2
Sheep	3	4
Poultry	1	2
Pigs . . . . .	..	1
Other	2	4
Total	30	24

This evidence probably underestimates the importance of live-stock products, since there is reason to believe that visits were made to an undue proportion of farmers in the part of the Area where arable farming is most important.

It is clear that in the Survey Area, as in the country as a whole, dairy farming is the most important branch of agriculture. In spite of a very rapid increase in recent years, the number of dairy cattle per 100 acres of crops and grass in the Area was slightly below the average for the country (Table 27). The range in densities from parish to parish was large, from a minimum of 2.7 in Stanton St. John to a maximum of 20.5 in Brighthampton.¹ As was to be expected, the density was greatest in the predominantly grass-land parishes in the west.

Other cattle were even more numerous than dairy cattle. This

TABLE 27

Numbers and densities of live stock in the Survey Area, 1933

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Density per 100 acres crops and grass</i>	
		<i>Survey Area</i>	<i>England and Wales</i>
Dairy cattle . . .	9,779	9.6	11.8
Other cattle . . .	14,737	14.5	14.6
Sheep	35,309	34.8	72.1
Pigs	11,625	11.4	12.2
Poultry	171,284	168.6	243.8
Horses	3,036	3.0	3.6

¹ This parish no longer exists for local government purposes, but is still recognized for statistical purposes in the parish returns made to the Ministry of Agriculture.

category 'other cattle', however, includes not only cattle kept for beef production but also young animals destined eventually to become dairy cows. Of the total of 14,737, only 4,162 were classified as being over 2 years old and therefore to be regarded definitely as kept for the production of beef. It may be estimated that the ratio of dairy to beef cattle was as two to one.

The district is not one in which sheep play an important part in the agricultural economy.

The range in the number of pigs per 100 acres of crops and grass in the individual parishes was very wide. Rather more pigs were kept in Berkshire than in Oxfordshire. There does not appear to be any definite relationship between the distribution of the pig population and either the distribution of crops or of live stock, but it seems probable that pigs are kept most commonly on the small-size holdings.

The poultry densities vary from 14.0 in Brighthampton to 631.0 in the combined parishes of Kidlington, Water Eaton, and Thrup. It is difficult to assign any reason for the parish distribution of numbers, but there appears to be a tendency to keep rather more on the smaller holdings.

Smallholdings and landownership.

The average size of holding is larger in the Survey Area than in England and Wales, the figures for 1933 being 107.6 acres per holding in the Area as compared with 64.7 acres per holding in England and Wales. This, however, is for the most part a natural consequence of the comparative infertility of the soil in many parts of the Area. As average yields are low, a farmer cannot produce enough to earn a livelihood unless he farms more acres than would be necessary on more fertile soil.

The Survey Area does not include any of the larger smallholdings schemes promoted by the county council of either Berkshire or Oxfordshire. With the exception of a group of holdings in Ascot, such smallholdings as have been established have been scattered and isolated, usually small parcels of accommodation land, unprovided with houses.

There is little available evidence about the ownership of the farms in the Area. In the 66 parishes included in the Survey there were 16 in which less than 25 per cent. of the land was in the hands of one owner, 28 in which between 25 per cent. and 60 per cent. was owned by one person, and 22 in which 60 per cent. or more was in the hands of one landlord. On the average, therefore, about 50 per

cent. of the land in these parishes belonged to one owner.¹ In 15 of the parishes an Oxford college owned 25 per cent. or more of the land.

The trend of production changes.

During the last two generations there has been a marked change in the relative importance of different types of agricultural production. The trend in the Survey Area has been similar to that in the country as a whole and does not present any striking local feature. It may be useful, however, to summarize the changes that have occurred first in England and Wales, and secondly in the Survey Area. These changes can be summarized briefly.

In 1871, 57 per cent. of the farm land of England and Wales was arable. Between that year and 1911 the arable acreage of England and Wales fell by 24 per cent., the acreage under corn crops declining by even more, and that under wheat by so much as 45 per cent. Farmers turned to grass-land farming, to the production of those products for which foreign competition was less severe; the permanent grass of the country increased by 40 per cent., and the number of cattle by much the same percentage. Beef cattle over 2 years old, faced by a growing competition from abroad, increased by only 3 per cent., but dairy cattle, supplying the sheltered milk market, rose in numbers by 40 per cent.

After a temporary stimulus to arable farming during the War, these trends continued farther. Between 1923 and 1931 the arable acreage fell by 14 per cent., the acreage under wheat by 31 per cent., and the acreage under barley by 22 per cent. The grass-land continued to increase with a growth of 3 per cent., while the number of cattle rose still more.

In spite of the assistance given to farming in recent years,² the arable acreage continued to fall after 1931 and was 5 per cent. lower in 1936 than in 1931. The wheat acreage, stimulated by the subsidy under the Wheat Act of 1932, rose by 42 per cent., but the barley acreage fell by 20 per cent. The permanent grass remained almost unchanged. The dairy herd, however, stimulated by the relatively high prices, increased by 10 per cent. Other cattle over 2 years, assisted by the subsidy, rose by 7 per cent., those between 1 and 2 years rose by 11 per cent., and those under 1 year by 1 per cent.

¹ See Appendix VI and p. 175 below.

² For the principal measures designed to raise the agricultural income, see *The Agricultural Register* for the years 1933-4, 1934-5, 1935-6, 1936-7, and 1937-8. Oxford University Agricultural Economics Research Institute.

At the present time about 27 per cent. of the land is under crops and about 73 per cent. under grass, temporary or permanent. Only about 30 per cent. of the agricultural income is obtained from crops, including fruits and vegetables, and the remaining 70 per cent. from live-stock products.

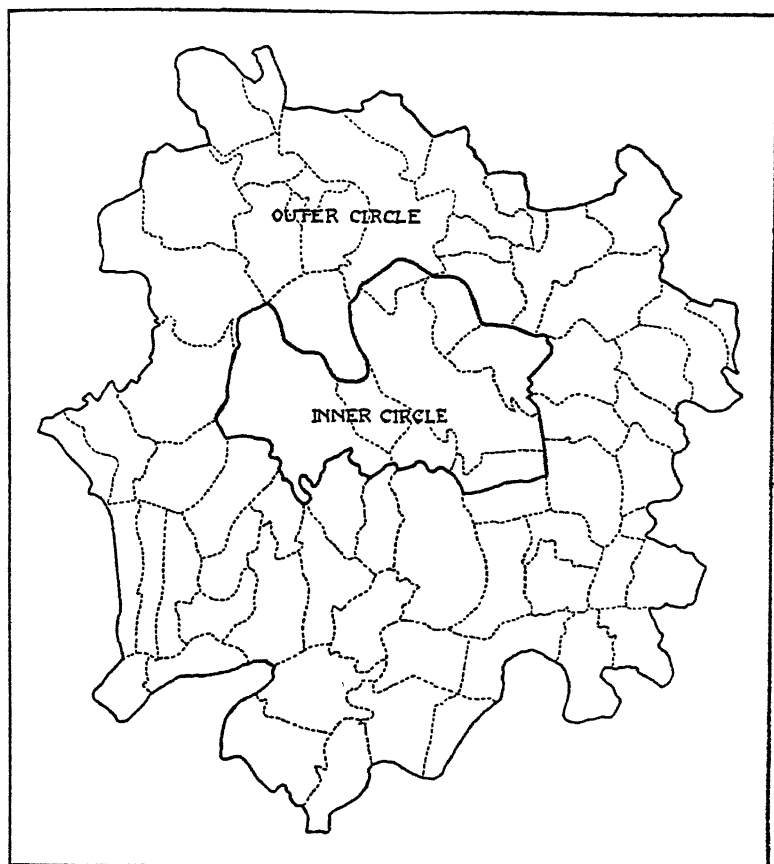


FIG. 28. Inner and Outer Circle of Parishes in the Survey Area.

In the Survey Area the same types of changes took place. The cultivated area in Oxfordshire, after rising by 2 per cent. between 1871 and 1891, declined 1 per cent. between 1891 and 1911, a further 2 per cent. between 1911 and 1923,¹ and finally 3 per cent. between 1923 and 1933.

It is in these last years, the post-war period, that the major changes

¹ See Appendix I, note 29.

TABLE 28
Summary of crop and live-stock changes in the Survey Area, 1923-33

	Inner circle		Outer circle		Increase (+) or decrease (-), 1923-33		England and Wales
	1923	1933	1923	1933	Inner circle	Outer circle	
	acres	acres	acres	acres	%	%	
Total area under crops and grass	12,783½	10,294½	96,186	91,277½	-19	-5	-3
Wheat	806	452	9,946	9,279½	-46	-7	-5
Barley	407½	141	6,563½	2,807½	-65	-57	-43
Oats	493	263½	6,089½	4,407	-47	-28	-24
Potatoes	257½	137	941	1,028½	-47	+9	+24
Turnips, swedes, and mangolds	413½	157½	4,676½	2,676½	-63	-44	-37
Bare fallow	427	282½	3,233½	3,151	-34	+5	+5
Other crops	658½	444½	4,717½	3,145½	-32	-33	n.c.*
Temporary grass { grazing mowing	56	75	95½	1,505½	+34	+58	+3
	484½	257	6,144	2,706	-47	-56	-30
Arable area	4,014½	2,210½	43,262½	30,707½	-45	-29	-17
Permanent grass { grazing mowing	4,83½	4,978½	31,336½	39,976½	+3	+28	+8
	3,933½	3,105	21,587½	20,594	-21	-5	+6
Horses Dairy cattle Other cattle Sheep Pigs	number	number	number	number			
	678	389	4,398	2,647	-43	-39	-30
	1,304	1,259	7,164	8,520	-3	+19	+13
	1,047	1,310	10,651	13,427	+25	+26	+14
	1,537	2,725	24,509	32,584	+77	+33	+31
	1,824	1,618	7,767	10,007	-11	+29	+18

* No change.

TABLE 29
Crops and live stock per 100 acres crops and grass in the Survey Area, 1923-33

	Inner circle		Outer circle		Increase (+) or decrease (-), 1923-33		England and Wales
	1923	1933	1923	1933	Inner circle	Outer circle	
	acres 100·0	acres 100·0	acres 100·0	acres 100·0	acres ..	acres ..	
Crops and grass	.	.	.	.	.	.	acres ..
Wheat	6·3	4·4	10·3	10·2	-1·9	-0·1	-0·1
Barley	3·2	1·4	6·8	3·1	-1·8	-3·7	-2·1
Oats	3·9	2·6	6·3	4·8	-1·3	-1·5	-1·6
Potatoes	2·0	1·3	0·9	1·1	-0·7	+0·2	+0·3
Turnips, swedes, and mangolds	3·2	1·5	4·9	2·9	-1·7	-2·0	-1·8
Bare fallow	3·3	2·7	3·4	3·5	-0·6	+0·1	+0·1
Other crops	5·2	4·3	4·9	3·4	-0·9	-1·5	+0·7
Temporary grass (grazing)	0·4	0·7	1·0	1·6	+0·3	+0·6	+0·2
Temporary grass (mowing)	3·8	2·5	6·4	3·0	-1·3	-3·4	-1·8
Arable area	31·3	21·4	44·9	33·6	-9·9	-11·3	-14·6
Permanent grass (grazing)	37·8	48·3	32·6	43·8	+10·5	+11·2	+4·6
Permanent grass (mowing)	30·9	30·3	22·5	22·6	-0·6	-0·1	+1·5
Horses	5·3	3·8	number 4·6	number 2·9	number -1·5	number -1·7	number -2·4
Dairy cattle	10·2	12·2	7·4	9·3	+1·2·0	+1·9	+1·7
Other cattle	8·2	12·7	11·1	14·7	+4·5	+3·6	+2·2
Sheep	12·0	26·5	25·5	35·7	+14·5	+10·2	+18·5
igs	14·3	15·7	8·1	11·0	+1·1·4	+2·9	+2·1

in the district's agriculture took place. For the Survey Area itself a decline of 7,397 acres, or 7 per cent., took place between 1923 and 1933. If the same amount of land were to be removed from agriculture annually as in the past ten years there would be no agriculture left in the Area 150 years hence. A part of the decrease was no doubt

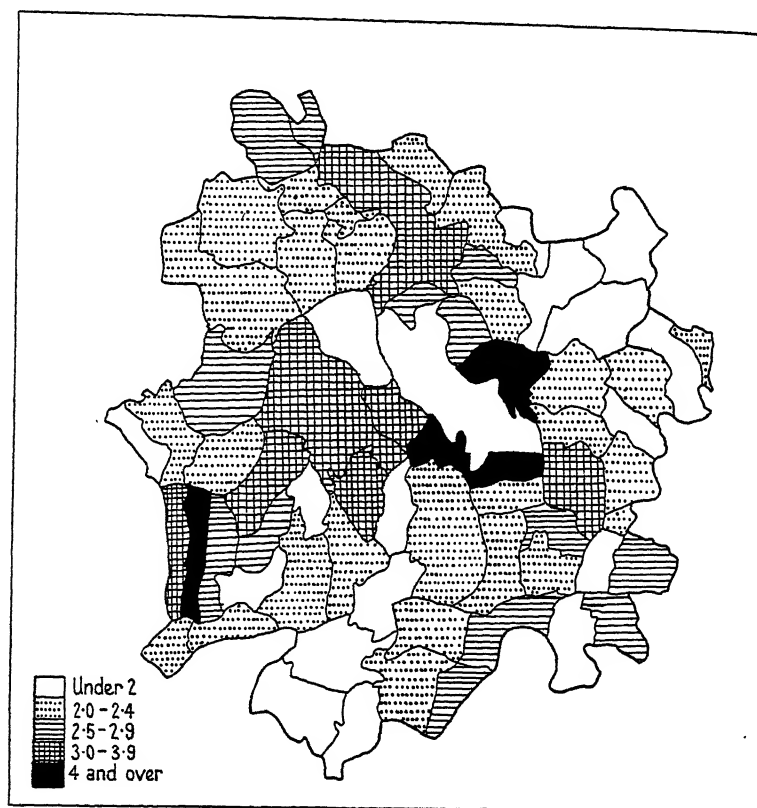


FIG. 29. Number of Holdings per 100 Acres of Cultivated Land in each Parish, 1933.

due to the agricultural depression; the greater part, however, was the result of the demand for land by the new housing estates. This development is clearly seen if the Area is divided into two parts, an inner and an outer circle (Tables 28 and 29, and Fig. 28). The relative decline in the agricultural area in the inner circle of parishes, which includes the city of Oxford itself, Wolvercote, Marston, Headington, Littlemore, the Hinkseys, and Cumnor, was very much greater than in the remaining parishes.

It will be observed, however, that even in the outer circle the

decrease in farming acreage was greater than in England and Wales.

Similar changes are shown in the number of separate holdings (Table 30 and Fig. 29). In some areas this was possibly the result of an increase in size, due to amalgamation of individual units of land to form larger farms; the average size rose by 16 per cent. in the inner circle and by 8 per cent. in the outer, or by 11 per cent. in all. The decline was mainly due, however, to the fact that holdings, particularly the smaller ones, surrounding the towns and villages ceased to be used as agricultural land and were absorbed in building estates and urban housing areas.

TABLE 30

*Changes in the number and size of agricultural holdings in the Survey Area, 1923-33**

Size of holding	Inner circle		Outer circle		Increase (+) or decrease (-), 1923-33		
	1923	1933	1923	1933	Inner circle	Outer circle	England and Wales
	number	number	number	number	%	%	%
1-5 acres	65	33	170	117	-49	-31	-10
5-20 "	74	54	197	146	-27	-26	-11
20-50 "	45	27	152	130	-40	-15	-4
50-100 "	21	21	77	104	n.c.	+35	+3
100-150 "	22	17	76	74	-23	-3	+1
150-300 "	16	11	130	111	-31	-15	-3
Over 300 "	7	7	93	92	n.c.	-1	-8
Total	250	170	895	774	-32	-14	-6

* Excluding holdings of rough grazing only.

In general, the encroaching of the urban population into the country has proceeded more rapidly in the Survey Area than in England as a whole. A diminution of 7 per cent. in ten years in the land devoted to farming would in itself have been a major factor in causing considerable changes in the agricultural output in the Area, but additional factors have also been at work.

The acreage of arable land also declined more rapidly in the Survey Area than in the country as a whole. In the Area, as has already been indicated, those soils which are suitable for arable cultivation are light soils, best adapted for barley and root-growing. Since both these forms of production have been unprofitable there has naturally been a very heavy decline in the arable acreage. Between 1923 and 1933 the arable acreage in the Survey Area declined by 30 per cent. in all.

Between 1923 and 1933 the wheat acreage fell, but only slightly faster than the agricultural acreage. The decline had been more rapid until 1932, but the Wheat Act resulted in returning a considerable area to wheat growing.

The heavy decline in barley production was due to the unremunerative market in recent years and to the decline in arable sheep farming, with which barley growing was closely associated. The district cannot grow barley of sufficiently high quality to be of use for malting, a market which yields a very considerable price premium over barley used for live-stock feeding, and of late years the trend of prices has been such as to discourage the cultivation of all but the best quality barley. The decline in acreage, already large before 1923, has been even more marked in recent years. In the Berkshire parishes, from St. Helen Without westwards to Draycott Moor and north to Appleton, the acreage declined by so much as 68 per cent. between 1923 and 1933, compared with 60 per cent. for the Area as a whole.

The fall in the acreage of root crops is largely due to higher labour charges, since all root crops require large amounts of manual labour. The decline has also been hastened in the Oxford district by the eclipse of arable sheep farming, a system in which turnips, like barley, have a recognized place in the rotation of crops.

The acreage under fruits and vegetables has risen very substantially (Table 31). The change was particularly large in the inner circle. There the acreage of brussels sprouts rose by 22 per cent. between 1923 and 1933, of cauliflower and broccoli by 72 per cent., and of rhubarb by 100 per cent. In the outer area, also, the vegetables increased, though to a lesser extent. As a result, the total area under vegetables on agricultural holdings over 1 acre in size was 62 per cent. greater in 1933 than in 1923. In the same period the acreage under small fruits increased by some 48 per cent.

While arable farming has declined, live-stock production has increased. The acreage of permanent grass in the Area rose by 11 per cent. between 1923 and 1933 (Tables 28 and 29).

The most important expansion was that of the dairy herd. The milk industry has long been a stand-by of the Oxfordshire farmer. As early as 1700 there are records of cheese being sent down the Thames to London, while, after the cattle plague destroyed the London dairy herds, liquid milk was also shipped from Oxford to London. This trade has continued to the present day, and has become increasingly profitable relatively to other lines of farming. The number of dairy cattle in the Area increased by 15 per cent. between 1923 and 1933. The number of other cattle rose even more

rapidly, by 26 per cent. Part of this increase was in young cattle destined for the dairy herd.

TABLE 31

Acres under fruits and vegetables on agricultural holdings in the Survey Area, 1923 and 1933

	1923	1933	% change
Cabbage { for fodder	156	293	+88
{ for human consumption	84	109	+30
Brussels sprouts	34½	88	+155
Cauliflower and broccoli	27	57	+111
Carrots	11	14	+27
Onions	6	6	n.c.
Celery	3½	5	+43
Rhubarb	4	8	+100
Peas picked green	56½	48	-15
Beans picked green	22	28	+27
Total vegetables	404½	656	+62
Orchards { with small fruits*	30	33	+10
{ with other crops or fallow	526	543	+3
Strawberries	22	39	+77
Raspberries	4	13	+225
Currants and gooseberries	21½	24	+11
Other small fruits	8	6	-25
Total small fruits	55½	82	+48
Total fruits and vegetables	986	1,281	+30

* Included under 'Total small fruits'.

The number of sheep in the Area rose by 36 per cent. between 1923 and 1933. This, however, by no means counterbalanced the previous fall. Before the depressions at the end of the nineteenth century large sections of the Survey Area were noted for their sheep farming, but by 1923 the number of sheep in Oxfordshire was scarcely more than a third the number in 1871. Under the old system most of the sheep were fed on roots; since then, however, lighter grassland breeds have been replacing the heavier types of sheep, a change which not only reduces labour requirements for growing feed and for feeding, but also satisfies the increasing demand for smaller cuts of meat.

The number of pigs in the Area has increased rapidly in recent years, particularly since the introduction of the Pigs Marketing Scheme which was expected to guarantee stability of prices. For both pigs and poultry the relatively cheap level of feeding costs until about a year ago encouraged expansion. In 1933 the number of poultry was greater than ever before. Between 1923 and 1933 there

was a reduction of 40 per cent. in the number of horses in the Area, due to two main causes: firstly, the reduction in the area of arable land, and secondly, the displacement of horses by mechanical labour both in the cities and on the farms.

As this review suggests, there is no close integral relation between the agriculture and the general economic life of the Survey Area. The Area produces much the same agricultural products in much the same proportions as does British agriculture as a whole. It is far from being self-supporting. Even if the whole of the agricultural production of the Area were consumed locally, it would only suffice to meet the smaller part of the needs of the consuming public. This may be seen from the following table (32).

TABLE 32*

Estimated production and consumption of certain foodstuffs in the Survey Area, 1933

		<i>Estimated production in the Survey Area</i>	<i>Estimated consumption in the Survey Area</i>	<i>Proportion home produced</i>	
				<i>Survey Area</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>
Wheat flour . . .	(cwt.)	104,815	228,902	46	20†
Potatoes . . .	(cwt.)	118,062	244,009	48	97
Milk and milk products	('000 gals.)	4,645	12,304	38	36
Beef and veal . .	(cwt.)	20,173	74,771	27	45
Mutton and lamb .	(cwt.)	7,233	33,232	22	44
Pigmeat . . .	(cwt.)	23,080	58,155	40	38
Eggs . . .	('000)	10,775	19,781	55	56

* A description of the methods used in constructing this table will be found in Appendix I, note 30.

† Wheat.

The estimates contained in the above table are necessarily rough, but they may be taken as giving an approximate idea of the position. Moreover, by no means all the agricultural production of the Area is consumed locally. A considerable proportion of the milk, for example, that is produced in the Area is sent to London, the deficiency being made good by greater importations of milk products.

Industrial development and the labour problem.

The rapid industrial development of the Survey Area in recent years has had important repercussions on the agricultural life of the district.¹ The expanding industries of the Area have drawn their

¹ The agricultural statistics and Survey data do not include allotments and other holdings under 1 acre. There has been a great development of allotment production round Oxford and the other towns, but the area affected is relatively small.

Agriculture

TABLE 33
*Number of agricultural workers in Oxfordshire **

	Males				Females				Total			
	1881	1911	1921	1931	1881	1911	1921	1931	1881	1911	1921	1931
Farmers	1,652	1,862	2,228	2,068	130	130	138	103	1,782	1,992	2,366	2,171
Farmers' relatives . . .	520	754	765	618	..	218	93	33	520	972	858	651
Farm bailiffs and foremen .	291	265	271	169	..	..	3	2	291	265	274	171
Agricultural labourers .	17,997	12,247	9,631	6,660	667	59	184	51	18,574	12,306	9,815	6,711
Gardeners, &c. . . .	603	1,560	3,242	3,502	34	21	83	97	637	1,581	3,325	3,599
Total	20,973	16,688	16,137	13,017	831	428	501	286	21,804	17,116	16,638	13,303

* From Census of Population, 1881, 1911, 1921, and 1931.

labour supply in a considerable part from the rural population in their neighbourhood and agriculture has, accordingly, had to adjust itself to a large and growing curtailment of its available labour supply. Table 33, from the population census figures, shows the extent of this curtailment in Oxfordshire up to 1931.

It will be observed that the decline in the number of farm workers

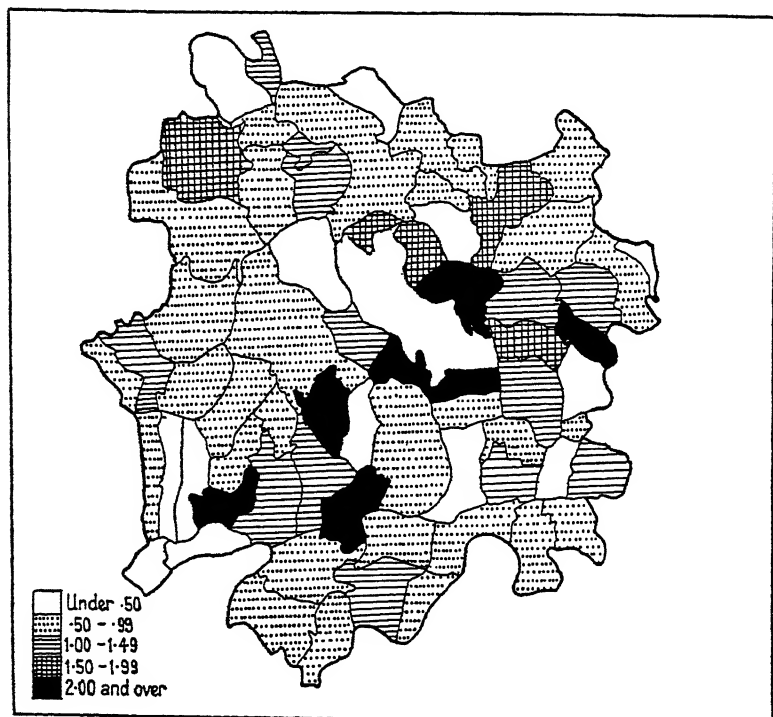


FIG. 30. Number of Agricultural Labourers per 100 Acres of Cultivated Land in each Parish, 1933.

in the decade 1921-31 was about 32 per cent. The number of farmers, on the other hand, has been increasing, but, if gardeners are included, the total numbers engaged in the agricultural group of occupations in Oxfordshire declined by about 22 per cent. between 1921 and 1931.

These figures indicate a far more rapid rate of decline than took place in the country as a whole. The number of agricultural workers, male and female, in England and Wales fell by 17 per cent. in the decade 1921-31 as compared with 32 per cent. for Oxfordshire. The total numbers engaged in agricultural occupations fell by 7 per cent.

in the same period in England and Wales as compared with the decline of 22 per cent. in Oxfordshire.

Since the War it has been possible to obtain separately, from *Agricultural Statistics*,¹ the number of regular and casual workers (Table 34). Between 1923 and 1933 the total number of workers in the Area fell by 25 per cent., the decline being relatively greater in the inner circle of parishes, the city of Oxford and the immediately surrounding area, than in the outer circle. This decline, again, was very much greater than the decline of 7 per cent. for the country as a whole. Since the reduction in the number of casual workers was greater than among regular workers, it is probable that the number of hours worked fell by less than a quarter. Even the number of regular male workers over 21, however, which is the most important class of worker, fell by 15 per cent. It is, therefore, probable that the number of man hours worked was some 20 per cent. less in 1933 than in 1923.

TABLE 34

Changes in the number of agricultural labourers in the Survey Area, 1923-33

	Inner circle*		Outer circle*		Increase (+) or decrease (-), 1923-33		
					Inner circle	Outer circle	England and Wales
	1923	1933	1923	1933	%	%	%
<i>Regular:</i>	number	number	number	number			
Male 21 and over .	327	300	1,837	1,521	-8.3	-17.2	-11.0
„ under 21 .	70	38	485	271	-45.7	-44.2	-18.2
Women and girls .	17	6	65	63	-64.7	-3.1	+0.2
<i>Casual:</i>							
Male 21 and over .	41	35	305	182	-14.6	-40.3	-0.7
„ under 21 .	19	5	90	17	-73.7	-81.1	-56.3
Women and girls .	9	5	61	58	-44.4	-4.9	-29.3
Total . . .	483	389	2,843	2,112	-19.5	-25.7	-7.4

* See p. 134 above.

The relatively greater decline in agricultural workers in the Survey Area cannot be explained by migrations from the Area elsewhere. Between 1911 and 1921 there was an insignificant inward movement of population into the Area, and between 1921 and 1931 a substantial inward movement.² It must be explained by the relative attractions of industry and agriculture.

At the present time there are many complaints as to the shortage

¹ Published by H.M.S.O.

² See Chapters II and III above.

of agricultural labour in the district. Several of the farmers interviewed¹ for the Survey complained of this shortage, which was also stressed by the Agricultural Organizer for Oxfordshire.

Labour is an important item to the farmers in the district. Table 35 shows that on 31 farms visited an average of 5 workers were employed.² It is, however, probable that the average for the district is lower than 5, since the average size of farm in the sample visited was 261 acres, compared with 105 acres for the whole Survey Area.

TABLE 35

Number of regular workers employed on farms visited in the Survey Area

<i>Number of workers</i>	<i>Number of farms</i>
0	2
1	2
2	3
3	8
4	1
5	4
More than 5	10
Not given	1
Total . .	31

The main cause for the reduced labour supply is the superior attraction of employment in the towns and in factories. The cost of living in the towns may be higher, but this is more than offset by the higher wages received, often for less skilled work than that performed on the land. The great improvement in transport facilities has brought the country into closer contact with the town, and has caused the farm labourer to be dissatisfied with the social and economic conditions under which he lives and works. It is these conditions rather than any dislike of farm work which are causing agricultural workers to prefer factory employment. The hours of work on the farm are relatively long, and the increasing importance of live stock means that many men now have to work seven days a week with little opportunity for leisure.

The loss of labour to agriculture is particularly serious among the younger workers. Some light on this point was obtained in the Survey. There were 78 sons and 73 daughters in the families visited who were over school age (Table 36). Among the sons only 22, not much more than a quarter of the total, were reported to be engaged

¹ See p. 127, note 1.

² In most of the overseas exporting countries whose agricultural products compete for the British market, there is, on the average, less than one employed worker to each farm.

in agricultural work, and among the daughters only 3 were doing farm work. If this sample be representative it would appear that about three-quarters of the sons of agricultural labourers are leaving the farming industry.

TABLE 36

Occupations of the children of farm labourers visited in the Survey Area

	Male	Female
Under school age	18	12
At school	35	20
Farm work	15	1
Other work	27	18
Farm work	7	2
Other work	29	52
Total	131	105

On the other hand, the number of workers moving from other occupations to farming appears to be small. Sixty-three labourers out of the 71 interviewed gave particulars of their previous occupation, and it is probable that the remaining 8 had been farm workers all their life. If service with the army be disregarded,¹ only 11 out of the 63 workers had at any time been employed in non-agricultural work, and 6 out of this 11 had previously had both agricultural and non-agricultural work.

The result of this movement out of agriculture is shown in the age distribution of the farm workers (Table 37). The average age of the 83 who gave their ages was 49. The largest age group, workers between 50 and 59, contained 27 per cent. of the total. Only 23 per

TABLE 37

*Variation in the ages of farm labourers visited in the Survey Area**

Age	Number of labourers
Under 30	19
30 to 39	13
40 to 49	15
50 to 59	23
60 to 69	10
70 and over	3
Not given	3
Total	86

* This table also includes 15 labourers' sons who were engaged in farm work.

¹ Some doubt exists as to whether or not the workers, when they stated that they had served in the army, included service during the War.

cent. of the farm labourers were less than 30 compared with 37 per cent. of the whole occupied male population over 14 in England and Wales in 1931. Some 61 per cent. of the farm workers were between 30 and 59, compared with 53 per cent. for the occupied population, and 16 per cent. over 60, compared with 10 per cent. for the whole occupied population. Thus, if the sample may be taken as representative, the proportion of elderly workers engaged in agriculture is high, and of young workers low.

The position among farmers is not, apparently, the same (Table 38). Out of 16 sons above school age, 10 were engaged in agricultural work, about five-eighths of the total, compared with a quarter of the sons of farm labourers.

TABLE 38

Occupations of farmers' families visited in the Survey Area

	Male	Female
Under school age	..	4
At school	9	7
Farm work	8	2
Other work	5	2
Farm work	2	..
Other work	1	11
Total	25	26

It is not possible to draw from the ages of farmers (Table 39) any definite conclusions as to the drift from the farm. Since young men cannot usually raise the capital to own their own farms, the number of men in the older age groups would obviously be high. Taking this into account, however, it would seem that the table giving the age distribution of farmers probably supports the view that there are relatively more young men leaving the farming industry from farm labourers' than farmers' families.

TABLE 39

Variations in the ages of 31 farmers visited in the Survey Area

Age	Number of farmers
Under 40	3
40 to 49	10
50 to 59	6
60 to 69	6
70 and over	1
Not given	5
Total	31

In summary, the decline in the supply of agricultural labour is a natural result of the growth of alternative industrial occupations coupled with the lower level of wages prevailing in agriculture. On the other hand, it has been an important influence in raising the level of agricultural wages, and it is of interest to consider in some detail the wages and other conditions of the agricultural labourer.

The conditions of the labourer.

The cash wages¹ of agricultural labour in Oxfordshire, which had been about 9s. weekly in 1850-1, had by 1879-81 risen to over 12s. This period coincided with one of prosperity in agriculture. Wages, however, were maintained at about this level until the beginning of the twentieth century, in spite of two very severe depressions. With the return of moderate prosperity and the rise in prices up till the War, agricultural wages also rose, and by 1914 were about 15s. 6d. weekly in Oxfordshire (Table 40).

During the War wages increased substantially, but less than the

TABLE 40

Wages of agricultural workers in Oxfordshire, the cost of living, and agricultural prices

	Minimum weekly wages for Oxfordshire agricultural workers*		Cost of living in United Kingdom†	Agricultural prices in England and Wales‡	Purchasing power of wages in terms of cost of living	Purchasing power of farm pro- ducts in terms of wages
	Amount	1914 = 100	July 1914 = 100	1914 = 100	1914 = 100	1914 = 100
	s. d.					
1914	15 6½	100	100	100	100	100
1918	30 0	194	203	230	96	119
1921	46 0	297	226	217	131	73
1924	25 0	161	175	159	92	99
1927	30 0	194	167½	143	116	74
1930	30 0	194	158	133	123	69
1933	28 0	181	140	106	129	59
1936	31 6	203	147	121	138	60

* From *Annual Reports of Proceedings under the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act 1924*, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

† From *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

‡ Including wheat and cattle subsidies; from *Agricultural Statistics*.

§ From *Wages and Conditions in Agriculture*, 1919, Cmd. 24, p. 107.

¹ For a general discussion of wage movements, see Orwin, C. S., and Felton, B. I., 'A Century of Wages and Earnings in Agriculture', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, vol. xci, 1931.

cost of living. When farmers were guaranteed fixed prices for cereals under the Corn Production Act, 1917, a wages board was also appointed to fix minimum wages for agricultural workers. These wages were recommended by county wages committees, and could vary from district to district.

The committees first fixed wages in September 1918. In Oxfordshire they were 30s. per week, or nearly twice the pre-war level. Both the cost of living and agricultural prices, however, had risen by more than this. The cost of living continued to rise, and wages were further increased. In 1921 they reached their maximum, 46s. a week, nearly three times the 1914 level. By this time, however, the cost of living had begun to fall, so that real wages were higher than before the War. In September 1921 the first cut in wages occurred. Before the end of the year, however, the Corn Production Act was repealed, and the wages board passed out of existence. Thereafter wages fell faster than the cost of living, so that in 1924 the minimum agricultural wage in Oxfordshire, 25s. per week, represented less real goods than in 1914. In 1924, under the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act, a new agricultural wages board was set up. This board, however, unlike its predecessor, merely gives statutory authority to the decisions of the county agricultural wages committees. These committees, the real bodies to fix agricultural wages, consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers together with two impartial members appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture.

In Oxfordshire the appointment of the county committee resulted in the increase in the minimum rate of wages by 5s. to 30s. per week—compared with an average rise for the country as a whole of 3s. 5d. The rate was not altered until March 6th, 1932, when it was reduced to 28s. per week. On February 4th, 1934, it was raised by 1s. to 29s. weekly, on May 6th, 1934, by a further 1s. to 30s. weekly, on March 4th, 1935, to 31s. 6d. weekly, and on September 27th, 1936, to 32s. 6d. weekly.¹ Real wages, which before the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act was passed had been 8 per cent. lower than before the War, were some 10 per cent. higher in 1925, about 32 per cent. higher in 1932, before wages were reduced, and 38 per cent. higher in 1936.

The movement of wages in Oxfordshire has been, on the whole, similar to that in the country as a whole. Throughout the nineteenth century agricultural wages were lower in the agricultural areas of the south-west than in the northern industrial area and the south-east.

¹ See Appendix I, note 31.

Throughout the century and up to the War cash wages were lower in Oxfordshire than on the average for the country, by amounts varying from 7*d.* weekly in 1833 (about 5 per cent. of the average wage) to 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1898 (about 17 per cent. of the average). The introduction of compulsory regulation in 1918 levelled out the extreme fluctuations; in that year wages in Oxfordshire were only slightly below the average. Under decontrol the difference again increased, and in 1924 wages in Oxfordshire were 3*s.* below the

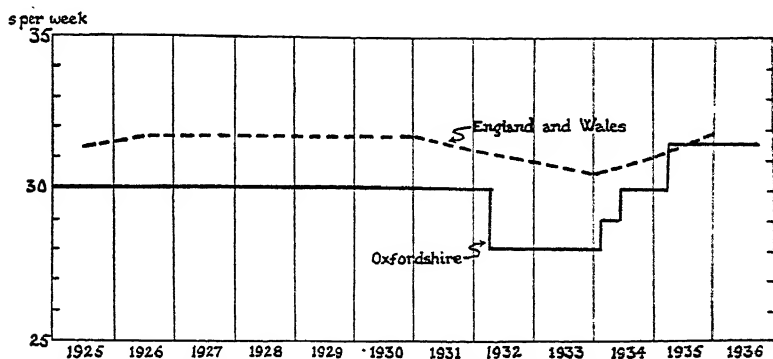


FIG. 31. Agricultural Wage-rates in Oxfordshire and in England and Wales, 1925-36.

average. The reinstitution of control once more reduced the spread of wages. The accompanying diagram shows the minimum wage-rates in Oxfordshire and the average rates in England and Wales since 1925. In 1925 wages were 31*s.* 6*d.* per week in England and Wales and remained at about this level until 1931. This was from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per week more than the minimum rates in Oxfordshire. In 1932 and 1933 respectively the average rates in England and Wales fell to 30*s.* 11*d.* and 30*s.* 6½*d.*, recovering to 31*s.* 1*d.* and 31*s.* 10½*d.* in 1934 and 1935. The fall in wages during the depression was rather greater in Oxfordshire than in the country as a whole.

One of the reasons for the lower level of wages in Oxfordshire, at least since 1925, was that the hours worked were some 1½ to 2 hours per week below the average. The difference in wages per hour was small. From 1926 to 1931 wages per hour averaged 7·3*d.* in Oxfordshire and 7·5*d.* in England and Wales; in 1933 they were 7·2*d.* and 6·9*d.* respectively, and in 1935 equal at 7·6*d.*

On the whole Oxford occupied an intermediate position between the industrial area in the north and the agricultural area in the south-west.

The increase in real wages which occurred from 1870 onwards was not the result of agricultural prosperity and rising prices for agricultural products. The prices of most agricultural products were lower in 1914 than in 1880, while wages were higher. Compared with 1879-81, wages, in terms of wheat, were 55 per cent. higher in 1914, and, in terms of British beef, 31 per cent. higher.

The relative movement in wages and the prices of agricultural products since 1914 are given in Table 40 on page 145. After a decline during the War, and an increase from 1918 to 1921, agricultural wages in 1924 bore about the same relation to agricultural prices that they had before the War. Thereafter prices fell, at first gradually, but after 1929 rapidly, while wages fell only slightly, so that in 1933 wages were 71 per cent. higher compared to prices than they had been before the War.

The rise in agricultural wages was due, in the main, not to an increase in demand but to a decline in supply consequent upon the growing demand for workers in industry, and the higher wages paid there.

The wage-rates in industry must be compared not with the minimum rates in agriculture, but with the actual rates (Table 41). At the time when the field inquiry already mentioned¹ was made the minimum rate in Oxfordshire was 31s. 6d. per week for a normal working week of 50 hours in summer and 48 hours in winter. In weeks in which public holidays, such as Easter Monday and Christmas Day, fall, these hours were reduced. When the hours worked were in excess of these figures, overtime was payable at the rate of 9½d. per hour. In Berkshire the minimum rate was 31s. per week for a 50-hour week in both winter and summer with overtime at 9d. per hour. Certain allowances were recognized by the wages committees as forming part of the minimum wage and these could be deducted from the minimum rate to arrive at the minimum cash wage payment. The rent of the cottage, for instance, was reckoned as a part of the wages of 9 of the labourers visited.

The maximum wage reported was 55s. per week, which included perquisites valued at 5s., and was earned by a foreman. Eight other workers earned more than 40s. per week. Except for one lorry and tractor driver, these were all cowmen or dairymen. The majority of the workers, however, earned from 32s. to 36s. per week. Ten men were earning less than 32s. per week and 5 earned less than the minimum wage (31s. 6d. in Oxfordshire and 31s. in Berkshire). In three cases this was due to the men being either over or under age,

¹ See p. 127 above.

while the remaining two probably received perquisites, the value of which was not returned.

TABLE 41

Total wages of 71 agricultural labourers visited in the Survey Area

<i>Wages per week</i>	<i>Number of labourers</i>
Under 32s.	10
32s. to 33s. 11d.	16
34s. to 35s. 11d.	16
36s. to 37s. 11d.	8
38s. to 39s. 11d.	1
40s. or over	9
Wages not given	11
Total . . .	71

The average cash wage received was 34s. 3d. per week. In addition, 12 labourers received perquisites ranging in value from 6d. to 5s. per week. If these be included the total wage averaged about 34s. 9d.

At the same time industrial workers in Oxfordshire received substantially higher wages. General labourers were paid at a rate of 52s. for a 47-hour week in Oxford, and at 1s. to 1s. 1d. per hour in Abingdon, and 1s. in Woodstock—rates which would generally realize well above the agricultural workers' pay of about 7½d.–8d. per hour. Many industrial workers earned substantially more.¹

Some allowance must also be made for the fact that the cost of living may be lower in the country than in the town. This advantage is, of course, shared by the industrial worker living in the country. It is probably no longer true with regard to most foodstuffs. The farm worker may obtain his fruits, vegetables, and eggs locally and cheaply, and, if he collects his milk at the farmhouse door, may pay 1d. per quart less than the specified minimum retail price. Moreover, while the minimum retail price prescribed for milk in the city of Oxford was 7d. per quart in the six winter months, and 6d. in the six summer months,² in the areas administered by rural district councils it was only 6d. per quart in the winter and in four summer months, and as low as 5d. per quart in May and June.³

For other foods, however, the reverse is probably true. Prices in village stores are notoriously higher than in town shops. Although

¹ See pp. 87 ff. above.

² From October 1st, 1937, the minimum price was to be 7d. per quart in winter and in three summer months, and 6d. per quart in only three summer months.

³ From October 1st, 1937, 6d. per quart except in December and January, when it was to be 6½d.

many firms deliver their products free, yet, since it is often both expensive and difficult for the village housewife to go to the town, she may have to pay a higher price, owing to having a smaller choice, than the city housewife.

Rents, however, are usually substantially lower for the agricultural than for the industrial worker. According to the field inquiry¹ the majority of the farm labourers' cottages were tied to the farm; the labourer took the cottage with his job and vacated it when his employment with the farmer ceased. Only 18 out of 66 labourers reported that they were living in cottages which were not tied.

The average rent paid was 3s. 10d. per week. As shown in the accompanying table (42), more than half the workers paid a rent of approximately 3s. per week. The rent of the 18 non-tied cottages was higher than for the tied cottages, averaging 4s. 6d. compared with 3s. 10d. for all the 66 cottages. All the three cottages with rents of 6s. 6d. or over were non-tied. In 9 of the tied cottages the rent of the cottage was included as part of the labourer's wages.

TABLE 42

Rents of farm labourers' cottages visited in the Survey Area

<i>Rent per week</i>	<i>Number of cottages</i>
Under 2s. 6d.	6
2s. 6d. to 3s. 5d.	38
3s. 6d. to 4s. 5d.	5
4s. 6d. to 5s. 5d.	2
5s. 6d. to 6s. 5d.	6
6s. 6d. and over	3
Not given	11
Total . . .	71

These rents compare with rents of council houses in Oxford ranging from 1s. 2d., on an estate where the rents are on a differential basis, to 21s. per week. No average is available, but it is certain that few city dwellers, and indeed few country dwellers with untied houses, pay as little as the farm workers.

This difference in rent represents partly a real difference in the *cost* of living. Partly, however, it is the reflection of the difference in the *standard* of living. The size of the cottages was perhaps not small compared with the city. The number of rooms per cottage varied

¹ See p. 127 above.

from 2 to 11, the average being $4\frac{1}{2}$ (Table 43). About two-thirds of the cottages had 4 or 5 rooms.

TABLE 43

Number of rooms in farm labourers' cottages visited in the Survey Area

<i>Rooms in cottage</i>	<i>Number of cottages</i>
2	4
3	3
4	26
5	17
6	12
More than 6	1
Not given	8
Total . .	71

Compared with the size of the families, however, the cottages were, on the whole, small. Sixty-five of the 71 labourers were married. Only 7 of the married workers had no children, but the number having 1, 2, 3, and 4 children respectively was approximately equal (Table 44). There is no marked predominance of families with only 1 or 2 children as in urban households. Some 18 per cent. of the families had 6 or more children. The average number of children per family was 3.6, of whom 2.0 were boys and 1.6 girls. Thus there were, on the average, between 5 and 6 persons in each cottage.

TABLE 44

Size of the families of farm labourers visited in the Survey Area

<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
0	7
1	10
2	8
3	10
4	9
5	6
6	4
More than 6	11
Not given	6
Total . .	65

Apart from their size, the cottages were often inconvenient and squalid. There was running water in only six of the cottages visited, of which three were the non-tied cottages with rents of 6s. 6d. per week and over. The others had to rely on pumps and wells which were generally common to the whole village. The position as regards lighting was only slightly better. Nine cottages had electricity and

three gas, but the remainder were dependent on paraffin. Many of the houses were reported to be damp and structurally unsound.

In so far as the difference in rent merely reflects these conditions it would not prevent agricultural workers from wishing to move to other occupations. It is thus apparent that there is a difference in real wage-rates between industry and agriculture. Moreover, as has already been indicated, hours of work are longer in agriculture than in industry. Despite, therefore, the improvement that has been effected in the agricultural labourer's lot, industrial employment still seems to offer superior attractions. It is improbable, therefore, that a position has yet been reached in which the drift from the land is likely to cease, so long as the industrial activity of the Survey Area continues to expand.

Technical progress.

The discrepancy between the conditions of the agricultural and the industrial worker does not alone explain satisfactorily the decline in the numbers employed. Two other factors may be mentioned—the growing mechanization of farming, and the decline in the area of arable land. The former, although partly the result of the high price of labour, may perhaps be considered as an independent cause of the decline in agricultural employment.

From the farmer's standpoint the decline in the supply of agricultural labour and the increase in agricultural wages present a serious problem, and it has been necessary for the farmers to adapt themselves to these changed conditions by introducing methods which entail a more economical use of labour, particularly mechanized methods of farming. Most of the farmers in the arable districts of the Survey Area now have tractors. Hay is largely made and harvested by mechanical means and great progress has been made in the mechanization of milking. It has been estimated that about half the dairy herds of Oxfordshire are now machine-milked.

The mechanization of farming has been made possible by technical developments, such as the internal combustion engine, and it would doubtless have been applied on a steadily increasing scale apart from the stimulus given by the growing shortage of labour. In British agriculture as a whole, however, the progress of mechanization has been more largely the consequence than the cause of the decline in the number of agricultural labourers employed. This is particularly true of the Survey Area, where the decline in the available supply of agricultural labour has been a dominating influence in the contraction of agricultural employment.

It is sometimes suggested that the decline in employment is partly attributable to the reduction of the arable acreage in the Survey Area. For it is a widely held view that the transference of land from arable to pasture means a heavy decline in the labour requirements. Between 1871 and 1911 the decline in the arable acreage in England and Wales was sufficient to warrant a reduction of 16 per cent. in labour requirements; between 1911 and 1935 there was a further drop of 4 per cent. During the same periods, however, the labour requirements for looking after the increased number of stock rose by 23 per cent. and 12 per cent. respectively,¹ an increase which more than counterbalanced the lessened requirements for the cultivation of the land. Had there been no change in the methods of using labour, the changes in output and numbers which occurred would have necessitated a 5 per cent. increase in the labour force between 1871 and 1911, and a further 6 per cent. increase between 1911 and 1933. It is therefore unsafe to assume that the mere laying down of arable land to grass causes, in itself, a reduction in labour.

In Oxfordshire the estimated total change in the demand for labour, brought about by the changes in acreage and numbers, was a decline of 6 per cent. between 1871 and 1911, and a further decline of 8 per cent. between 1911 and 1933.² In the Survey Area, assuming no change in production efficiency, the amount of labour required to cultivate the changed acreage of crops and grass declined by 24 per cent. between 1923 and 1933, while the requirements for stock rose by 19 per cent., giving a net increase in labour requirements of 1 per cent.³ The fact that the actual amount of labour employed in the Area fell by 25 per cent. during these ten years, coupled with a probable reduction in the number of hours worked, suggests a very extensive increase in the efficiency of farming. There cannot be many industries which achieved such a reduction with an apparent maintenance of output.

Conclusion.

For the most part, the fortunes of agriculture in the Survey Area are dependent on the same influences which govern the fortunes of British agriculture as a whole, and the farmers of the Area have, in

¹ These calculations are based on figures in Long, H. W., and McCann, N. F., *Labour Requirements of Crops and Stock in the South West*, January 1934, Seale Hayne Agricultural College, Newton Abbot, Devon, Pamphlet No. 41.

² In the latter period a fall of 12 per cent. between 1911 and 1923 more than counterbalanced a rise of 5 per cent. between 1923 and 1933.

³ For England and Wales the corresponding figures were: no change for crops and grass, and a 12 per cent. increase for live stock, giving, on balance, a 10 per cent. increase.

fact, experienced the same vicissitudes in the post-war period as farmers elsewhere. They suffered severely during the depression of agricultural prices which culminated in 1932-3. They have, on the whole, benefited from the various measures that have since been taken to restrict agricultural imports and to assist different branches of agriculture by subsidies. They have been affected by the various national schemes of reorganization, such as the marketing schemes for hops, pigs and bacon, milk, and potatoes that have been introduced from time to time.

But the Survey Area has been affected in a quite exceptional degree in the post-war period by the phenomenon of the decline in the supply of agricultural labour. Between 1923 and 1933 the number of farm workers in the Survey Area fell by a quarter. Moreover, the special inquiries that have been made suggest that a large proportion, which may possibly amount to about three-quarters, of the sons of agricultural labourers are seeking occupations outside agriculture.¹ The decline in the supply of labour has been accompanied by a substantial rise in agricultural wages. Between 1914 and 1936 the real wages of farm workers in Oxfordshire rose by nearly 40 per cent. The evidence of the survey, however, indicates that there is no reason for regarding the position with complacency. The farm worker in the Area earned, on the average, only 34s. a week, or very much less than most unskilled industrial workers in the Area. His hours, 50 in summer and 48 in winter, tended to be longer than in industry. While rents were, in general, very much lower than in towns, this was in part the result of poor housing conditions rather than of lower costs for the same amenities. There is, further, no evidence that other costs of living were lower in the country than in the town.

The farmers of the Survey Area are thus faced, in a greater degree perhaps than British agriculturists elsewhere, with the necessity of adapting their methods to meet the change in labour conditions. In this respect they are confronted with a problem which made itself felt in other parts of the country long ago. In the nineteenth century industrialization proceeded far more rapidly in the north of England than it did in the south, and it is the accepted view that the higher level of agricultural wages prevailing in the northern counties was largely attributable to this cause. The outstanding social fact of the Survey Area during the post-war period has been the remarkable

¹ This is not so serious as appears at first sight, since the size of family is so much greater than in the city; but the fact remains that the number of those remaining is not sufficient to maintain the supply of agricultural workers.

degree of industrialization that has occurred. This industrialization must be expected to exert the same sort of effect on the agriculture of the neighbourhood as did industrialization of, say, Lancashire and Yorkshire in the nineteenth century. The repercussions of industrial development upon agricultural life thus form one of the interesting aspects of a study of the agriculture of the Survey Area at the present time.

PART III. GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

THERE are at least three types of authority exercising governmental functions within the Survey Area. There are, first, those which are the local agents for the central government, as for example the officers of the Post Office and of the Ministry of Labour. In spite of their somewhat different legal status we may reckon such bodies as the Thames Conservancy Board and the Central Electricity Board in this category of 'localized-central' government. Secondly, there are the bodies holding local government powers in the ordinarily accepted sense, such as the county councils, the county borough councils, and the rural district councils. Thirdly, there are certain authorities which do not fit easily into either of these categories. This type of authority is represented by the judges, magistrates, and police responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

The machinery of localized-central government in the Survey Area is much the same as elsewhere, and for this reason we shall have little to say on the subject. Our main purpose is a consideration of the methods of organization and of finance of the second type of governmental authority—that is, of the local authorities proper.

There is no clear line of principle dividing administrative functions as between the local authorities and the central government. On the face of it, the explanation as to why a particular duty is conferred, for instance on the county councils and not on the agents of the ministry, is usually to be found in the circumstances prevailing at the time when the duty was first instituted. We should, however, consider whether there may be some more fundamental justification for the retention of this distribution of functions.

It appears to the present writer that there are natural centres of authority based upon real communities, and that a centre of authority which people will obey cannot be created at will. The king in parliament is one such centre of authority, which we obey because we belong to the national community, a real community based upon natural facts of language, racial composition, history, and geography. But it is not the only centre of authority, for the national community is not the only real community, although its government is in a certain sense supreme. Towns and villages certainly, counties probably,

are real communities and their governments are natural centres of authority, however much their powers may be regulated and defined by parliament. Individuals think it right to make sacrifices for the good of their town or village, which they are not ready to make for the benefit of other towns and villages. The same is probably still true, though to a lesser extent, of the county; the counties are not simply convenient areas into which the country is split up for administrative purposes; if this were all, it would not be hard to propose more convenient areas than the present counties. People do not wish to have all benefits and burdens spread equally all over the country. They wish, within limits, to do the best they can for their own town or village, and circumstances are conceivable in which they would obey their local council in defiance of the central government and continue to obey it if the central government were put out of action by war or revolution. As long as there are real communities, based on real differences such as those between townsmen and countrymen, or between northerners and southerners, local self-government is justified, and local self-government must imply some right to do things differently and even some right to do them wrong (in the opinion of the central government).

It is evident, on the other hand, that to let such local communities do anything they liked would lead to disruption of the national community. They cannot be permitted to thwart the interests of the nation as a whole. Consequently their powers must be circumscribed. In England this is supposed to be done by only permitting them to act within the strict limits of powers granted by parliament, and they are supposed to be kept within these limits by the courts of law. But this is not the whole story, for control by the courts alone would be quite inadequate under modern conditions to ensure harmonious co-operation between central and local government. Consequently many and subtle new means of administrative control have been devised, for example, disallowance and surcharge of expenditure, discontinuance of grants, sanction of borrowings, sanction of compulsory purchase orders, confirmation of certain appointments, and the like. Figures which show the extent of financial control exercised in this district by the central authorities are given in the chapter on local finance.¹ We may ask ourselves whether these methods of control have gone too far. For if a local authority is reduced merely to carrying out tasks prescribed to it in great detail by the central government, a time will come when the

¹ Chapter X below.

tasks would clearly be better accomplished by central government officers working in areas based on greatest administrative convenience, with local advisory committees to advise them upon local peculiarities.

Now this may be an excellent form of administration; it has been adopted with success for the National Health Insurance and the Unemployment Assistance services. But it is not what we mean by local self-government. This can only be justified by the fact of community, and the governmental authority derived from it. We must face the fact that local self-government may not provide the most efficient means of fulfilling a particular function—let us say the control of new building—and yet may be justified. Indeed, we may go so far as to say that local self-government will never be so efficient from the national point of view—unless we recognize that it is good for the national community to promote vigorous life in its subordinate communities. For as far as mere efficiency goes, the national government will usually be able to command the services of more highly qualified experts, and will be able to select more convenient areas of administration. It is well to be clear on this point. For if the tasks of local authorities are to be so minutely prescribed and controlled that the local authority in effect merely lends its officials to a central department, it is almost certainly better for the officials to be engaged by the central department and to act under its authority. The same will be the case if areas which were at one time real centres of community sentiment and authority have for any reasons ceased to be so, and become mere areas of administration. It might be argued that this is the case with the counties—or with some counties—and with some rural districts and parishes. If this were proved on any large scale it would be a serious charge. For it appears that unless there is some social and economic reality in the areas which are adopted for purposes of local government administration, much of what is ordinarily carried out by local authorities will be better done by local agents of central government. This consideration should be borne in mind in the discussion which follows¹ of the areas in the Oxford district which have been adopted for various administrative purposes.

The type of authority exercised by the judges, the magistrates, and the police in the maintenance of law and order is the subject of the third chapter in this section of the Survey. The organization of the courts and their officers is particularly complex. The magistrates are local people appointed by the Crown on the advice of a local

¹ See pp. 162 ff. below.

committee. The police are legally servants of the Crown, appointed by the local authority, paid for partly by it and partly by the central government, controlled by a body composed partly of members of the local authority and partly of magistrates (in the case of a county) or of co-opted members (in the case of a county borough). These arrangements are not accidental, but the outcome of a desire for a certain balance of power between central and local authorities.

Moreover, the functions of these organs of government are curiously mixed. The work of the courts is primarily redressive or repressive. In the words of Justinian, it is 'to restore things done amiss' and thereby to prevent them being done amiss in the future. They do not aim directly and consciously to solve new problems in the adjustment of human interests, but merely to see that a stock set of approved solutions, which is called 'The Law', is applied. In spite of this, judges, magistrates, and police are constantly establishing new rules in the course of their interpretation of the old ones. The magistrates in a certain area, for example, develop a certain 'policy' in dealing with motoring offences or with first offenders; they build up a local tradition which is likely to influence their successors. In interpreting the law they may be guided by much the same considerations as affect the administrator. Some of the work of the magistrates is even more clearly administrative. In certain cases they apply the law where there is no allegation that it has been broken, as, for example, when they license public houses or sanction adoptions.

It has been an established principle in this country that the legality of any administrative act may be tested before an ordinary court of law. In consequence a system has developed in which acts of parliament are first interpreted by administrators and their application controlled by inspectors; then, if any one is enterprising enough to contest the administrator's decision, they are reinterpreted by the courts and perhaps enforced with the help of the police. The administrator is treated, in fact, exactly as if he were a private individual out for his own gain. But it is notorious that this principle is being broken through at many points. Formerly the justices of the peace exercised most of the administrative and judicial functions of local government; this concentration of powers in the same hands had advantages, and vestiges of it remain to-day. But the outstanding feature nowadays is the variety of authorities, local and localized-central, that exercise government in the same area, limited and co-ordinated by the decisions of the High Court of Justice, and by the subtler methods of pressure from Whitehall. It is coming to be

realized that both methods are necessary. For parliament may make what laws it will, they cannot be applied to the individual case except by various administrators, police, and judges; each of these must be, and is, given a certain scope for the use of discretion. Successful government depends on giving each of them enough scope and not too much.

CHAPTER IX

STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Authorities and areas.

WITHIN the area of the Survey all the main types of local authority found in England are exemplified, with the exception of the urban district.¹ The most striking feature about the government and the district is the very sharp distinction between the Oxford County Borough area and the remainder. Within the county borough, practically all local government powers are wielded in the name of the mayor and corporation of Oxford.² The germ of this independence goes back to very early times; Oxford is mentioned as a privileged town in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Independence was fully achieved by the Order of 1889 which made it a county borough, completely independent of the county, and by the Oxford Corporation Act of 1933, which abolished the last shadowy remnants of the old powers of the civil parishes, amalgamating them into a single parish of Oxford, coterminous with the county borough. All co-operation between the county borough and the other local authorities in the Survey Area is purely optional and permissive, with the exception of action taken under the Town Planning Acts, a new departure in local government.³ Such optional co-operation for certain purposes, e.g. control of vagrancy, is a great convenience for the different authorities concerned and can be effected through a joint board. Failing such machinery for joint discussion and action, co-ordination of policy can only be obtained through the influence of Whitehall, which as a large contributor to the income of local authorities can bring pressure to bear on them. The same sanction, used as a bribe, enables government departments to stimulate the provision of similar services by different local authorities.

The area of the county borough has been extended several times since its creation, the last extension being effected by the Oxford

¹ The parish of Wheatley was an urban district until the reorganization of the county area in 1932, the parish of Headington for a short while just before the Oxford Extension Act came into operation in 1929. (See Appendix III.)

² Though even here we find, for example, the Thames Conservancy Board, a completely independent body, exercising certain powers which are in the fullest sense 'governmental' and 'local'.

³ Under Section 4 of the Town and Country Planning Act (1932), the Minister may, at the request of one of the authorities concerned, order the preparation of a regional scheme by establishing a joint committee. See also p. 170 below, note 1.

Extension Act of 1928, by which the greater part of the parishes of Headington, Cowley, Cutteslowe, and Wolvercote was annexed to the city.¹ An extension of boundaries, if unopposed by any other local authority, can be made by Provisional Order; but if opposed, it can only be achieved through the somewhat expensive procedure of Private Bill.² Under either method regulations are laid down for the compensation to be paid to the authority losing territory for loss of rates and for the decrease in the amount of exchequer grants to be received. This is always an intricate question; even by 1938, the financial consequences arising out of the act of 1928 had not been finally settled.

Outside the county borough, the citizen finds himself under the jurisdiction of a number of different authorities. Of these, the county, the municipal borough, and the parish are ancient. The county districts derive their powers from the Public Health Acts of 1872 and 1875 and the Local Government Act of 1894. The urban district councils have developed from the local boards of health whose establishment was authorized by the Public Health Act of 1848, while the rural districts are based on the poor law unions created by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.³

The Survey Area is divided between the administrative counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, the boundary line between them following the course of the Thames. The counties, though created in their modern form by the act of 1888 and slightly modified since then, coincide essentially with the ancient shires that were in existence in the time of Alfred the Great; they have been units of judicial and military administration and of parliamentary representation throughout most of our history. Originally the Thames formed a natural boundary and it was an advantage that Mercia and Wessex should be protected from each other by a river and by valley swamps.⁴ To-day no one would suggest that the rambling course of the Thames made a convenient boundary for administrative units, yet the his-

¹ The area of the city was increased on this occasion from 4,719 acres to 8,416 acres.

² Local Government Act, 1933, section 140. But if a county council and the council of a county borough make a joint representation to the minister he may (without a local inquiry, if he considers it unnecessary) make an Order altering the boundary between the county and the county borough (Local Government Act, 1933, section 143, subsection 2).

³ There is no real connexion between the county district and the immemorial division of the hundred, which still has a shadowy existence for licensing purposes.

⁴ In later times the navigable rivers became the chief highways, and in many places the parishes were demarcated so as to form the hinterland of riverside wharves. To-day the river Thames has lost its significance as a means of communication and is once again (though to a lesser degree) an obstacle to communication.

torical area of the shire is still the basis of most local administration. Most matters concerning the security, highways, health, or education of people living less than a mile south of Oxford are dealt with at Reading, and it is to Reading that these people must address themselves. In the same way, people living within a few miles of the centre of Reading must address themselves for these matters to Oxford. At first sight this would seem indefensible, yet largely because of long tradition behind it, there is still a good deal of sentiment attached to the county as an historical unit; and if, as has already been argued, local self-government means anything more than mere decentralized administration, such considerations of sentiment should not be ignored.

The smallest and perhaps the most ancient unit of local government in England is the civil parish.¹ Descending from the ancient Saxon tun or township, but shorn of many of its functions by the Poor Law Act of 1834, it owes most of its present powers to the act of 1894, which sought to revive the parish as a unit of local government in rural areas. The Survey Area comprises no fewer than sixty-six civil parishes, excluding those within the municipal boroughs which have now lost all significance. The immense variation in the area and population of these parishes is shown by the figures given in the Appendix.² Although parish boundaries have been modified to some extent by recent legislation, for example by the Oxfordshire Review Order, 1932, and by the Berkshire Review Order, 1934, it is clear that they are determined by the economic influences of the past rather than by administrative convenience. The Local Government Act, 1933, provides that parish boundaries may be reviewed by the county council every ten years. Such alterations of boundary are not very difficult to effect, and this flexibility in the machinery of local government facilitates the adaptation of administration to changing social conditions. It is particularly valuable when a new residential centre in a rural area, in order to obtain services which its less urbanized neighbours do not desire, is anxious to acquire the status of a separate civil parish.

Parishes are combined for a good many purposes, mainly sanitary, into rural or urban districts. The rural district councils are to a considerable extent federations of parishes grouped for administrative convenience and have no good claim to be regarded as real communities. As a rule, each parish is represented as such upon the rural district council, and the works carried out for the benefit of each parish are in the main charged upon the parish which benefits

¹ Not every ecclesiastical parish is a civil parish.

² See Appendix I, note 32.

by them, that is, the charge is not usually spread over the whole area of the rural district as it is in a county or borough. The areas of the Oxfordshire rural districts were very greatly altered by the Review Order of 1932.¹ Though they have only been working for some four years, there can be little doubt that the large new rural districts are a great improvement upon the small and inconvenient areas of their predecessors. The area of the smallest of these districts, Ploughley, is now 79,911 acres with a population in 1931 of 12,713. This arrangement of rural districts involves, however, the consequence that many people in new housing estates on the fringe of the city must look to Bicester, Witney, or Abingdon for the administration of most of their sanitary services.

Finally, the Survey Area includes two ancient municipal boroughs, Abingdon and Woodstock. In an historical treatise these would undoubtedly be properly placed in the same category as the city of Oxford, since they are all alike chartered boroughs. Yet to consider them along with the county districts corresponds better to present realities, since their powers and duties do not differ very greatly from those of an urban district. Unlike the rural districts, however, they represent real units of sentiment; they are not mere conglomerations of parishes made for administrative convenience. The borough of Abingdon, with its population of 7,829 (based on the 1931 census figures) in an area of 1,713 acres, forms a small, but not unimportant, centre of population and trade. This can hardly be said of the borough of Woodstock, with its population of 1,484 (1931) in an area of 157 acres. But the presence there of the gloving industry² has enabled it to resist in some degree the magnetism of Oxford's growing industrialization and to make it a centre of employment for the surrounding villages. Building development on its outskirts has, indeed, been such that it is now desirous of extending its boundaries. Extension of municipal boundaries is a comparatively simple matter and is sometimes carried out on a generous scale. Abingdon more than doubled its area as a consequence of the changes made by the Berkshire Review Order, 1934. Such an extension does not entail direct loss of rateable value to the county and involves, therefore, much less opposition and complication than the extension of a county borough.

Thus the Survey Area as a whole presents a striking illustration of the present dual system of English local government. Within the limits of the county borough there is *concentration* of all powers upon

¹ The area of a rural district, like that of a parish, may be altered every ten years.

² This has some historical interest. See p. 76 above.

the county borough council. Outside these limits, a *variety* of authorities, parish, district or borough, and county councils, exercise different powers over the same set of people. Since the Local Government Acts of 1929 and 1933, the number of authorities has been reduced; they have been in certain respects subordinated to the county council. This now has 'concurrent' powers to provide some of the services which a parish or district normally provides; 'default' powers to undertake some of these services if they are not provided to the satisfaction of the Minister; power to require information; and power to delegate some of its duties to a district council.¹ But it would be a mistake to think of the system as in every respect a rational hierarchy of subordinate and superordinate authorities. Each authority is a corporate body, owning its own property, appointing its own officers on terms fixed by itself, raising its own loans,² and communicating direct with Whitehall.

Thus there is no local government authority which has the power to pursue any interests which the inhabitants of the whole Survey Area might have in common, nor can it be said that there is any authority which has a preponderating influence throughout the Area. Thus three persons living in the very centre of the Area, within a mile of one another, in Iffley, Littlemore, and Kennington respectively, would each be provided with services by three completely different sets of authorities, who need not have any dealings with one another.

The complexity of the authorities concerned with governmental duties is illustrated by the series of maps which is given at the end of this volume. These maps show the variety of areas adopted as a basis for the administration of a number of public services. It is remarkable that the areas are different in almost every case. There does not, however, seem, as a general rule, to be any particular necessity for different services to be based on the same areas, although in some cases this lack of coincidence may be inconvenient.

Most of the administrative areas tend to take some account of the natural centres of authority, the towns, villages, and counties, and stick as closely as possible to the boundaries of these units, departing from them only where administrative convenience imperatively requires this. Thus we see, for example, that the county court³ districts are based upon a slightly amended county area, including

¹ The only default powers it exercises over a municipal borough are in respect of the provision of allotments.

² A parish council may only raise a loan with the approval of the parish meeting and the county council; the county council then has the power to lend it the money.

³ Fig. 53.

Abingdon and leaving out Henley, and the same may be said of the valuation¹ districts. On the other hand, the Post Office² districts are based upon a more drastically amended county area, including Abingdon, Wantage, and Wallingford, and leaving out Henley and Banbury. If at any time alteration of the county areas were being considered, it would be worth while taking these amendments into account. They all include a portion of Berkshire within the region administered from Oxford, and include a portion of Oxfordshire in that administered from Reading.

Nearly all the localized-central services include the county borough in a wider administrative area, and nearly all ignore the boundaries of the rural districts. We find the rural districts split up for purposes of public assistance³ and amalgamated to some extent for purposes of assessment.⁴ The petty sessional divisions,⁵ the county electoral divisions,⁶ the Employment Exchange areas⁷ do not correspond to these districts in any way—and there seems to be no particular reason why they should.⁸

It might have been supposed that when the regional planning areas were constituted an attempt would have been made to discover 'natural' regions, whose character and problems were similar. But when town planning was first introduced in 1909, and even at the passing of the act of 1919, it was not yet realized that, to be effective, plans need to be prepared for larger areas than those of our boroughs and rural districts, especially since these do not coincide with the areas of economic development with which planning has to deal. One notable attempt was made in the right direction, by the constitution of the 'Oxford Regional and Special Area Planning Scheme' in 1924. The boundaries of this special area roughly follow the hill-tops surrounding the bowl in which Oxford lies, and comprise parts of the Oxfordshire rural districts of Bullingdon and Ploughley and of the Berkshire rural district of Abingdon, thus violating the sacrosanct boundaries of the counties. Planning in this area is controlled by a purely advisory joint committee. This was a step in the right direction, but it took too much account of geography alone and too little account of economic considerations. Moreover, even if the area created was a good one in 1924, it is not so good now. The Mid-Oxfordshire and North Berkshire Planning Schemes stick rigidly to the line of the county boundary and fairly rigidly to the

¹ Fig. 42.² Fig. 46.³ Fig. 49.⁴ Fig. 50.⁵ Fig. 54.⁶ Fig. 47.⁷ Fig. 43.⁸ Except, perhaps, in the case of Employment Exchange and public assistance areas.

rural district areas;¹ Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Oxford City have no say whatever in one another's plans, though each of them will be profoundly affected by the doings of the other two.

We should not exaggerate the difficulties which arise from these arrangements. Many a system which does not seem theoretically ideal can be worked satisfactorily in practice, given sufficient goodwill in the relations between the authorities.² In other spheres than that of planning there is some formal co-operation between Oxford City and Oxfordshire, and between Oxfordshire and Berkshire.³ Further, there is much informal co-operation, such as the supply of places for Oxfordshire children in Oxford City schools, the disposal of some Bullingdon R.D.C. sewage by Oxford City, and the supply of water by Oxford City to rural districts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Still, it can hardly be denied that the existing partition of the territory between the different authorities does give rise to real problems, for example in the sphere of police administration, and in the supply of services to the new estates which Oxford is obliged to plant outside the city boundaries.

Unfortunately, there is little agreement as to the right remedy. The counties fear financial loss through further extension of the boundaries of Oxford City, and fear that new estates may be alleged as a reason for expansion. It is unreasonable to expect the rural district councils, whose areas are partly rural in character, to provide such complete services as are provided by Oxford City. Many of the inhabitants of these districts clearly do not require such services as sewage disposal or street lighting; others are divided between hope of increased services and fear of an increase in their rate poundage. Some interests of the rural inhabitants, let us say their interest in agricultural education, might well suffer if the rural areas were annexed wholesale to Oxford City. The expansion of the city has not been that of a continuous tide of houses lapping over its present boundaries. Rural and urbanized areas are inextricably intermingled, and there is a real and natural conflict of interest between the rural and the urban populations.

There would seem to be two *prima facie* criteria of the area which should be included in a city. The first would make the limits of city

¹ But Berkshire has wisely grouped several of its rural districts together to form fairly large regional planning areas.

² And this usually exists, in spite of a recent lawsuit between two of them, which was adversely commented on by the judge.

³ Oxford County and City Joint Mental Hospital; Joint Town Planning Scheme; Bucks, Oxon., and Reading Joint Mental Defectives Board; Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Joint Vagrancy Committee. The last of these also includes representatives of Oxford City.

government coincide with the continuously built-up area. This we may call the 'minimum' solution. In our case, none of the parishes surrounding the city is a continuously built-up area at present. However, it is not nowadays generally thought desirable that a large town should be a continuous agglomeration of houses; green belts and satellite settlements are accepted as essential. Also, it is evident that if this criterion is adopted, each new growth of population, however slight, will force the municipal authorities to provide housing for their people beyond their own boundaries, in an area over which they have no governmental powers and from which they derive no income. The second criterion would put under the government of the municipality all areas mainly inhabited by people whose daily work is in the town; this we may call the 'maximum' solution. In our case this would involve the immediate extension of the boundaries of the city of Oxford to a distance of at least ten miles, perhaps as much as twenty miles, from the centre of the city.¹ This would involve the incorporation of immense areas which are absolutely rural in character. Thus we may perhaps tentatively conclude that a satisfactory solution will *not* be found by simple extension of the limits of the county borough into the surrounding counties, while leaving counties and county borough that complete independence of one another which they now enjoy.

The situation has not been made worse, as elsewhere, by ill feeling and deliberate non-cooperation between the counties and the county borough. But there has been some friction, especially over the contribution which the counties should pay for children attending city schools, and over the financial compensation which had to be paid for the city's last extension—after nine years of discussion and litigation this has still not been settled. There is also plenty of evidence that rural district councils on the fringe of the city have refused to allow it to provide their inhabitants with services, even though this was obviously the most desirable course, for fear of subsequent annexation. It seems clear that the boundary extension of 1929 arose out of a revolt of the three parishes of Headington, Wolvercote, and Cowley against their district councils, who did next to nothing for them, and that these councils resisted it to the last. Moreover, the city immensely curtailed its original plan, adopting a solution which it knew would not be satisfactory for long, in order to buy off the opposition of Berkshire and Oxfordshire. Conflict, though not acute at the time of writing, is liable to break out every time a

¹ See Appendix IV, where the residential distribution of Oxford's motor workers is discussed.

city councillor or a parish meeting raises the question of further city extension. Opposed legislation is immensely expensive to the ratepayers of all the parties concerned. It would be a great relief if an agreed scheme for peaceful change could be found that would pay due regard to the really different interests of the urbanized, suburbanized, and rural areas.

Our primary purpose in this volume of the Survey is to lay bare the data, not to make recommendations. So general, however, is the feeling that some reorganization of local authorities in the Oxford district and some redistribution of their powers is needed, that the author feels compelled to offer some constructive suggestions for improvement. The reader is reminded that the Survey committee as such has no views on this matter, and that the suggestions which follow express the opinion of the author alone.

If we rule out the various solutions which could only be achieved by a general act of parliament, we may perhaps find some possibilities of improvement in an extension of the present machinery of regional planning. For demands for extension of the city arise from new development, and the difficulty of agreeing upon compensation to the local authorities who thereby lose rateable value is due to their varying estimations of the future development. If the various local authorities in the region could agree upon their long-term policy with regard to highways, sewers, and water-mains, and upon the scheduling of land for industrial or residential development, the future gains in rateable value and the future liabilities to provide services could be gauged with greater confidence. Then perhaps it would come to be recognized that it is the primary business of the counties to watch over the interests of the rural areas and the small towns, not to cling to outlying portions of the great towns for the sake of the revenue which these afford. But it should be equally recognized that the government of rural areas is less economical than that of moderate-sized towns; the townsfolk, in exchange for the power to manage their own affairs, should be willing to pay something to help the country-folk. The compensation to be paid should therefore take some account of future prospects and not merely of the present rateable value of any district which is being surrendered to a big town. These future prospects could be to a considerable extent settled by a joint regional planning committee, provided this had executive powers to lay down the plan of development to be followed throughout the area.¹ For population moves in

¹ This need not imply executive powers to administer the plan, e.g. to pass the plans of houses, &c. Of the joint regional planning committees in existence, 133 have

the 'predestinate grooves' laid down for it by highways, water-mains, and electricity lines. Were the plan of development agreed on in advance, the counties would know what areas they must eventually have to surrender, and what they could expect to retain permanently; they should then allow the former areas to be supplied by the county borough with water, sewers, &c., where this is most convenient, without their having to be prematurely annexed to the city. For a satellite village, whose inhabitants nearly all work in the city, but which is surrounded by purely rural areas, is better retained in the county; the tripartite form of county government will be more likely to do justice to the various interests involved. But there is no reason why such suburban villages should not be supplied with water, sewerage, lighting, and the like by the city, and the rural district councils collect the charges for it. This is so often the most economical solution that it ought not to be constantly prevented by fear of annexation. It is not inconceivable that a regional planning joint executive committee might agree in advance as to how the areas scheduled for development should be supplied with services. These are in fact among the duties placed upon them by the Town and Country Planning Act, 1932.

We must recognize that any such scheme would involve some restriction on the freedom of the local authorities concerned, and that it would be essential to get the co-operation of the authorities in a sufficiently large area centred upon the city. The joint planning area should be large enough to include all districts economically affected by the development of Oxford and not within the orbit of any other large town. It should be bounded on the south by the sphere of influence of Reading, on the west by that of Swindon-Gloucester-Cheltenham, on the north by that of Northampton-Leamington-Warwick, on the east by that of Aylesbury—a ring whose radius would vary between ten and twenty miles. In such an area the interests of the urban and the rural authorities would be fairly equally balanced, and no one could suspect the county borough of wishing to annex it. A very great step towards the realization of such a rational planning area could be taken by the exchange of north Berkshire for south Oxfordshire, for it is evident that both in the Oxford area and in the Reading area the county boundaries are the greatest obstacle to any improvement. This is the method which has been adopted by many of the localized-central administrations. To the present writer the ultimate ideal seems to be two great

executive powers to prepare the plan. In our Area, the joint committees have not got even this power; they are purely advisory.

authorities based upon the same town, the county representing rural interests and the county borough representing urban interests, with some machinery in common. For there has come to be a great difference between the small market town and the large industrial town, and this is a feature of our age which, so far as we can tell, has come to stay.

Composition, functions, and operation of the various local government bodies.

(1). *The parishes.* To what manner of men are the governmental functions of this most intimate and most ancient unit of local government entrusted; how are they carried out and paid for? Do we find in our villages that truest form of democracy—a democracy based upon personal acquaintance—which is only possible in a small unit and which we might in theory expect to find?

The parish meeting is an assembly of all the local government electors. All rural parishes must have a parish meeting. A parish council must be elected in all rural parishes where the population is 300 or over. If the population is 200 or over but under 300, then it may be elected where the parish meeting so resolves; if under 200, then the consent of the county council must be obtained. A parish council consists of from five to fifteen members, as may be fixed from time to time by the county council. Councillors are elected for three years. The election takes place at the annual parish meeting by show of hands, or by poll when this is demanded.

A parish council's expenses must not exceed an amount equal to a rate of 4*d.* in the £ without the consent of the parish meeting, and shall not exceed a rate of 8*d.* in the £ (which is also the limit of the permissible expenditure of a parish meeting). A parish council must provide allotments, if required by the county council. It may provide a public water-supply, recreation grounds, footpaths, street lighting, fire stations, baths and wash-houses, burial grounds, and libraries. As a parochial committee of the rural district council it may carry out any powers which that council may delegate to it. It administers certain types of parochial charities, and appoints managers of schools. (These last two powers are exercised by a parish meeting in the absence of a parish council.) It may appoint a clerk and a treasurer, the former of whom may be salaried.

Such is the briefest summary of the law. What are the facts in the Survey Area?

Our information is derived from the answers which the clerks or chairmen of parish councils and meetings in the Area were good enough to make to a questionnaire circulated to them. Replies were

received from 41 parishes out of 66 (62 per cent.). We were able to supplement the answers to some extent by inquiries on the spot, and by information received from rural district councils.

Thirty-eight of the parishes in the Area have an elected parish council, although not all of these, owing to their small population, were required to have one. The remainder in theory have a parish meeting, but in fact in at least one-third of these no meeting has been held for many years. The usual number of members of a parish council would appear to be five or six, but in exceptional cases we find as many as fifteen councillors. The councils usually meet once a quarter, in the larger parishes more frequent meetings are not uncommon. In parishes which have no council, but only a meeting, this rarely meets more often than once a year.

In the larger and more populous parishes we find councils which exercise nearly all the functions permitted to them.¹ But these seem to be rather the exception than the rule. Among the larger and wealthier parishes, which may be classified² as 'not purely rural', there are some which do not appear to do much. Among the poorer, 'purely rural', parishes there are a fair number whose clerks stated that 'no business' or 'nothing much' is done. Delegation of sanitary duties to parishes by the rural district council, though not absolutely unknown, appears to be extremely rare.³ The management of a recreation ground and the supervision of footpaths are apparently the most common undertakings of the councils; in addition several of them provide and administer allotments and manage local charities. We hear of a council which takes care of the village clock, of another which runs a village library. But it would be wrong to estimate the importance of the parish councils and meetings simply by the statutory functions they perform. Often their most useful function consists in making representations to the rural district and county councils—'airing grievances', as one clerk called it. For the village, though sometimes inarticulate, is a real unit of sentiment, which the rural district council is not. The parish council often performs valuable service by preparing and calling a parish meeting in order to mobilize parish opinion upon some scheme proposed by rural district or county council.⁴ The effectiveness of the council

¹ There is, however, no instance of any council providing baths, wash-houses, or fire apparatus.

² See Appendix I, note 32.

³ In one case in our district (Eynsham), these duties are delegated to a parochial committee, consisting of the parish council with the addition of the rural district councillors for that parish. This arrangement was adopted because the parish had expressed discontent with the administration of the services by the R.D.C.

⁴ See p. 201 below.

varies, of course, from parish to parish and is largely dependent upon the ability and enthusiasm of its officers. Where these are active, the parish council may negotiate on any matter of common interest to the village. We found one case where the council expressed its views on the subject of the local supply of electricity, of the frequency of the bus services, of the charges made for gas, and with regard to the local postal and telephone service. This example is taken from a parish which is rapidly becoming urbanized and where, therefore, many adaptations to the changed circumstances are needed. Thus at its best the council may be a real expression of the opinions and aspirations of the village and the natural channel for passing information and requests to other authorities. At its worst it confines itself to harmless, formal observance of its statutory duties. It appears to be very unusual for a parish council or meeting to spend up to the limit of its 8*d.* rate, or anything approaching this.

The parish organs of government do not require any considerable staff; there must be a clerk to the parish council who is usually, though not invariably, paid a modest remuneration—a figure of £5 or £10 yearly seems to be common. His services are frequently shared between several parishes, though here the practice of different districts seems to differ markedly. Perhaps the hope that he may thus gain experience of many parishes is countered by a fear that he may be a partisan of his own. In some cases, the clerk of a parish council holds a position in the offices of a neighbouring borough council—a useful arrangement.

The parish council is probably the only form of local government which involves no expense and no loss of working time to the councillors, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find a wide selection of occupations and classes represented by parish councillors. Information as to the sex and occupations of their members was obtained from 20 parish councils within the Area. The total number of councillors in these 20 villages at the time of our inquiry was 140; of these 47 (33·5 per cent.) were working men, 37 (26·5 per cent.) were minor professional men (e.g. clerks) or tradespeople, 26 (18·5 per cent.) were farmers, and the remainder were mainly professional people. It is a remarkable fact that there were only 4 women amongst the 140 councillors. A partial explanation may perhaps be that in village life women interested in community work can generally find plenty of scope for their energies in the Women's Institutes and similar organizations. Only 3 of the 140 councillors were classified in the returns as 'landowners'. This may be due in part to the unrepresentative character in this respect of the villages which sent in

answers to this question, for in only 12 of the 20 villages was there a landowner owning 25 per cent. or more of the land. These conditions are by no means typical of those we find when we take the Survey Area as a whole.¹

Any definition we might make of a 'landowner' is bound to be very arbitrary. Perhaps it may be said in general that any one who owns 25 per cent. or more of the total land in a village is likely to have a considerable social and economic importance there. Adopting this as a criterion, we find in the Area that there are landowners in 50 villages, and only 16 villages are in the hands of numerous small owners. Again, in 22 villages we find that nearly all the land (60 per cent. or more) is in the hands of one owner. These big landowners are not all resident, in fact many of them are public bodies. In 17 of the parishes in the Area a quarter or more of the land is in the hands of such a corporation, in most cases an Oxford college. In one or two cases the college bursars live on the college estates and show an interest in village affairs comparable with that of a resident landowner. The figures given may be suggestive as to the extent to which the traditional organization of the English village has been preserved in our Area, and as to the tasks of the parish council and the talent it is able to draw upon. But we are not able from our data to draw any definite conclusions as to whether the parish council flourishes in one type of village rather than another.

(2). *The rural district councils.* The welfare of the rural parish is intimately dependent upon the rural district council. In many respects, as we have already observed, the district council should be regarded as a federal organ through which a number of associated parishes aim to fulfil their requirements in respect of most public health and sanitary services. Although the parish council is not represented as such on the district council, the parish is always the electoral unit, each parish as a rule having one representative on the district council. There are some exceptions to this rule, but they are so few as to leave unimpaired the essentially federal character of the district council. The smaller, purely rural parishes have a representation which is much more than proportionate to their population.

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The rural district council, although shorn of some of its powers, notably its highway powers, by the recent Local Government Acts, is still perhaps the local authority which most powerfully affects the lives of English people living in rural areas, in virtue of its two main functions. These may be summarized as (a) the provision of all

¹ See Appendix VI.

public health and sanitary services other than the highly specialized services (e.g. for tuberculous persons, mental defectives, expectant mothers) which are now entrusted to county councils, and (b) the raising by means of 'rates' of most of the income which all the local authorities spend.

The rural district council has a great many minor functions, some of them obsolete, under many acts of parliament, but since this is not a legal treatise, we may give here, in the words of the clerk to one of these councils,¹ a description of those services which seem to him to be the most important:

'It is the duty', he tells us, 'of the Council continually to inspect its District to detect nuisances (i.e. practices dangerous to the general health) and . . . to have them abated; to see that all inhabited property is kept in a fit state for human habitation, to prevent overcrowding, and . . . to compel owners to repair defective property, or demolish, whichever action is required. This service is proceeding continually throughout the District. During 1936 inspections under this head were made amounting in number to 5,929. It is also the duty of the Rural Council, and one which is proceeding continually, to inspect factories, workshops, and work-places to see that these premises are kept in accordance with the regulations. For instance, during the year 1936, 148 such inspections were made. It is the duty of the Rural Council to provide homes for persons of the working-classes. . . . Houses are built and owned by the Council. In the interests of public health all cow-sheds and dairies and milk-shops are registered and inspected for cleanliness. Food and meat are inspected and unsound meat seized and destroyed, slaughter-houses registered and slaughterers licensed. Special designated milk can only be sold under licence and periodical samples are submitted for bacteriological examination. All notifiable diseases are notified to the Medical Officer of Health and recorded.'

Hospitals for infectious diseases are provided by the councils in collaboration with other districts. For example, the Bullingdon District Council collaborates to maintain a joint fever hospital with the rural district council and the borough of Wallingford (both in the county of Berkshire). A small-pox hospital is maintained jointly by a still larger group of councils.

Such are the general services chargeable upon the whole district equally, by the 'general rate'. In addition, such services as water-supply, sewage disposal, and scavenging are usually supplied to each parish at its own expense, if the rural district council (not the parish in question) thinks fit; these are paid for by the 'special rate'.²

¹ A. E. Oswin, Clerk to the Bullingdon R.D.C.

² That certain special expenses for parishes are shown on the rating demand notes

Briefly, we may state that the strictly governmental services of control and inspection are paid for by the rural district as a whole, whereas those which supply amenities to individuals are charged to particular parishes.¹ This arrangement naturally results in differential rating between the parishes in a district. The problems which arise are considered in detail in the following chapter,² but since they affect the smooth working of the present structure of local government we may make a general reference to them here. It may be questioned whether the prevalent method of apportioning the expenses is always in the national interest—whether, for example, a rural parish may not sometimes require a public water-supply in the interest of its neighbour's health, even when it may be too poor to pay for this itself. To this it may be replied that in general costly schemes of water-supply and sewage are only needed by parishes which have a high density of population and so are able to pay for them, and further, that both the rural district council and the county council have power to contribute to such schemes, if they think fit, out of the general rate. In default of mutual agreement between the parish for which the special service is to be provided and the rural district, the latter orders the works to be undertaken and charges them to the parish, subject to the consent of the Minister of Health.

It is now necessary to return to the other principal function of the rural district councils, as rating authorities, and describe briefly the mechanism by which the rates are assessed and levied. For although, as has been said, every part of our Area except the county borough is subject to at least three masters, all of which extract money from it, yet technically two of them—parish and county—are 'precepting authorities'; they do not collect the money themselves, but require the 'rating authority'—rural district or municipal borough council—to collect so much each half-year for them, and pass it on. This arrangement is an obvious gain in practical convenience; it would be inconvenient and expensive if each local authority kept its own staff of collectors and inspectors. But it should be emphasized that it is a mere matter of practical convenience; the rating authority has no discretion at all to decide how much it will collect on behalf of other local authorities, so that the economic

as 'additional items to the General Rate' is a curiously misleading arrangement due to a technicality of the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, which need not concern us.

¹ In Abingdon Rural District, however, scavenging, previously a parish charge, became in October 1936 a charge upon the whole district, paid for out of the general rate.

² Finance of Local Government.

and political effects of the multiple rating-system are just the same as they would be if each local authority collected its own rates.

Services provided by local authorities in this country are paid for on two different principles. The first principle is that of a price voluntarily paid by those who choose to have the service—the same principle as that followed by a private undertaking. Such are the charges paid for municipal electricity or the fares paid in municipal trams. The proportion of their income which local authorities in the Area derive from such fees and charges may be seen from the chapter on 'Finance'.¹ The second principle is that of a tax compulsorily levied upon all inhabitants of a certain legally defined category—e.g. occupiers of land and buildings—resident within a certain area. Unlike a fee or voluntary charge, 'every general rate is to be at a uniform amount per pound on the rateable value of each hereditament'.²

The whole of the income of all the various local authorities, so far as this is not derived from national taxes or from fees and charges, is raised either by district councils or by borough councils, who levy rates upon their areas, and then pass on a part of the receipts to the other sorts of authorities, e.g. the county councils or parish councils. 'Rates' are a curious form of tax, supposed to be based on the net annual letting value of land or buildings to the person who occupies them. This net annual value, however, is determined by a number of elaborate conventions, and might seem to an intelligent foreigner to be somewhat arbitrary. Unfairness in the levying of rates is therefore guarded against in two ways: by entrusting the assessment of rateable value to a different set of persons from those responsible for levying the rate; and by providing for the inspection of valuation lists by the public, who may then lodge appeals with the assessment committees if they feel themselves more hardly treated than their neighbours. In accordance with these principles, rates are levied by rating committees, while the draft valuation lists made by the rating authorities have to be confirmed by assessment committees. No member of a rating committee may ever sit on an assessment committee and, except in the case of county boroughs, the assessment area does not usually coincide with the rating area; in Oxfordshire there are four assessment areas covering the thirteen local authorities outside the county borough, while Abingdon Borough and Rural District are part of an assessment area which includes most of north Berkshire. Each county has a valuation committee, composed of members of the county council and representatives of the various

¹ Chapter X below.

² Rating and Valuation Act, 1925.

assessment committees, whose duty it is to endeavour to secure uniformity of assessment within the county. There is a central assessment committee which issues instructions intended to secure greater uniformity of assessment.

It is clear that the two present main functions of the rural district council—of sanitary authority and rating authority—require the maintenance of a number of permanent officials, and that the support of this staff requires an area of a certain minimum size. There can be little doubt that the old rural districts in Oxfordshire were too small and poor to fulfil modern requirements, and they have now been replaced by areas of a very substantial size. The effect of this enlargement of areas, however, so long as the federal principle of 'one parish, one representative' is adhered to—and so long as the system of special rates for individual parishes obtains, this principle must be adhered to—is to make the membership of these councils somewhat large. The largest of the councils which have jurisdiction in our Area has a membership of forty-three, and this seems to be about the usual number for Oxfordshire; Abingdon Rural District Council, on the other hand, with twenty-three members, is considerably smaller.¹ It cannot be easy to assemble a large council from a fairly large area if the meetings are held at all frequently. In consequence, we were informed, Bullingdon Council has decided to base its procedure as far as possible upon that of the county council, delegating a great deal of administration, including the power of entering into contracts, to committees meeting about once a month, while the council as a whole only meets once a quarter, and a good deal of its business consists in formal confirmation of the acts of the committees. Attendance at the full meetings of the council averages 74 per cent. The other councils in the Area have not adopted this arrangement of quarterly meetings; the councils as a whole meet monthly, and it is permissible to conjecture—though impossible to state positively—that they do not delegate quite so much to committees as the Bullingdon Council does. The average attendance at Witney—a large council—is 61 per cent., at Abingdon—a small council—69 per cent.

Standing committees seem to vary in size between about ten and twenty members. Witney has a small finance committee of nine members. Bullingdon has a provision that no member may serve on more than three committees. None of the councils has any rule such

¹ The following information is derived from Standing Orders, answers to a questionnaire, and other data kindly supplied by the clerks of Bullingdon, Witney, and Abingdon Rural District Councils. Ploughley Rural District Council replied that the time was inopportune for supplying any information.

as that of the city council, restricting the length of time during which a councillor may be a chairman of a committee. There seems to be no difficulty in finding chairmen or councillors willing to serve on committees. Witney is the only council which goes in for parochial committees, but it seems to be the invariable practice to consult parishes before embarking on any scheme which would involve the parish in an increased special rate. In the vast majority of cases parish clerks described their relations with their R.D.C. as 'friendly' or 'cordial'; only in two cases as 'correct'. In the case of Witney, we were informed that 'almost all' the rural district councillors were also parish councillors; the proportion for Abingdon is just under 50 per cent. We have no information as regards Bullingdon or Ploughley.

It is evident that the time and expense involved are very much greater for a rural district councillor than for a parish councillor. The payment of travelling expenses to attend meetings of the council or committees is not permissible, and the payment of special expenses to attend conferences, &c., is unusual. Consequently, wage-earners are practically excluded from membership, and the majority of the members are drawn from those sections of the people who are fairly well-to-do. It is not easy to generalize, but it would seem roughly true to say that in all the councils the agricultural interest predominates, the majority consisting of farmers and landowners (or their agents) in fairly equal proportions, the minority of other trades and professions, schoolmasters, parsons, builders. Women are everywhere in a small minority—Witney has no women members at all. Except in the Abingdon Rural District Council there is a fair sprinkling of county councillors and magistrates. The membership of the councils is renewed triennially; one-third of the councillors retire each year, but very few of them need fear having to face a contest. Owing to the 1932 reorganization, statistics of past elections are not available, but since the reorganization there have only been contested elections in five parishes, viz. Littlemore, Wheatley, Dorchester, Kennington, and Eynsham—all parishes which have been considerably urbanized. A contested election in a rural parish seems quite unheard of; one council states that difficulty has sometimes been found in getting any one to stand. There is no evidence of any candidates being supported by party or other electoral organizations. Attendance of the public at meetings of the councils is permitted, but is quite unusual.

It should be observed that while the membership of these councils is about three-quarters that of an average county council, their per-

manent staff is by no means comparable with that of a county council. One of the councils in our Area employs a clerk, a surveyor with two assistants, and a rating officer with one assistant. This is probably about the minimum. Other councils have, in addition, a financial officer, a housing manager, and a rent collector. A medical officer is shared between two or more councils. The head-quarters staff of one of the rural district councils is given as 'three clerks and one typist'.

(3). *The municipal boroughs.* A local authority which is very different in type from the rural district council, but which has much the same powers and duties, is the small municipal borough council. It has all the sanitary powers of the rural district council with, in addition, certain other powers which are made necessary by a concentrated population, such as the regulation of markets and slaughter-houses, the provision of lighting, of a fire brigade, of baths, and of wash-houses. It may also provide a municipal library and a museum. It has the duty of laying down new streets and of maintaining all unclassified roads within the borough. It may make by-laws for the good rule and government of the borough and run trading undertakings.

In the Survey Area, Abingdon and Woodstock are both small municipal boroughs. Both boroughs were of greater importance in the past than they are to-day, but we are not concerned with matters of historical interest and must therefore content ourselves with a brief glance at them. Both borough councils exercise some of the optional powers available to them; for example, they both have entered into contracts for street lighting, both provide libraries, and in both cases the control of the market is vested in the corporation, although of late years the market held at Woodstock has lapsed. On the other hand, neither council provides a slaughter-house or a fire brigade, or baths and wash-houses. Abingdon, however, has its own borough waterworks and a complete drainage system, and is responsible for a museum. Woodstock is supplied with water by Oxford City, but has no main drainage, although a scheme to provide this is on foot. Both boroughs were too small in 1901 to qualify to act as local education authorities for elementary education. Abingdon has a borough police court while Woodstock has not.¹ Like most ancient towns, and unlike the rural district councils, both borough councils hold considerable corporate property and have a number of municipal charities to administer.

(4). *The county and county borough councils.* We may now pass from the small fry of local government to their big brothers, the county

¹ See p. 243 below.

and county borough councils—the former perhaps the most august, and ruling the largest territory, the latter wielding the most complete powers of any authority known to English local government. Since this is not a systematic treatise, it may be most illuminating to consider the two kinds of authority side by side.

In what follows, 'the county council' should be taken, unless otherwise stated, to mean the Oxfordshire County Council, simply because this council is responsible for the larger part of the Survey Area and has its head-quarters at Oxford. In consequence, we have more information about the activities of the Oxfordshire County Council. However, the chairman, the clerk, and others have been courteous in supplying us with information with regard to the relevant parts of Berkshire, and it does not appear to us that the Berkshire County Council differs markedly from the Oxfordshire County Council either in its constitution, composition, or policy. Some of the unsolved problems of English local government are due to the great differences between the counties in size, wealth, and character of population. Of our two counties, Berkshire is considerably the richer, its rateable value in 1933 being about two and a half times that of Oxfordshire, presumably on account of its greater proximity to London. But in respect of character of population, size, and geography they are not very dissimilar. Consequently, most of what will be said of the Oxfordshire County Council would be equally true of the Berkshire County Council.

Both county and county borough councils control a governmental apparatus of an imposing size and complexity. This will be seen from Figs. 32, 33, 34, illustrating the organization of committees and departments as a whole. The income of the county council from all sources for the year 1935-6 was £790,161; of the county borough council £900,868. On January 1st, 1938, 1,522 persons were employed by the county, and 1,558 by the city.¹

It would be tedious to attempt to enumerate all the functions exercised by these authorities. Briefly, those performed by the county council are as follows: (a) It administers most of the 'specialist' public health services such as maternity and child welfare, lunacy and mental deficiency, or the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis and

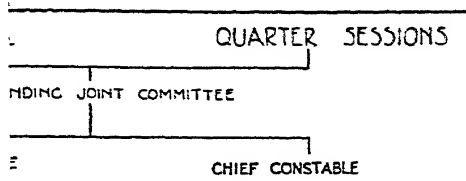
¹ These were divided as follows:

	<i>County</i>	<i>City</i>
	%	%
Officials, office and supervisory staff	13	22
Others	87	78
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

have very complete executive powers. Many of these committees, including the finance committee, are statutory committees, and the powers of the council are required by act of parliament to be delegated to them. They appoint all officers other than a few principal officers,¹ make contracts in the name of the council, and expend money within the general limits authorized by the finance committee. Their actions are reported to council, but do not in general require authorization. The only thing they cannot do is to raise a rate, or borrow money, these functions belonging to the council as a whole. Co-ordination of policy in Oxfordshire is effected by the appointment of the chairman and vice-chairman of the council as members of all committees; by the attendance of the clerk or his deputy on them all; and by the institution of a small selection and general purposes committee, which consists of the chairmen of the most important committees under the presidency of the chairman of the council. This committee, besides selecting the personnel of committees, exercises a general influence over their policy; it is something approaching to a cabinet.

The question of the co-ordination of policy is vital in so large and complex a body as a county or county borough council. Opinions differ as to whether this task is better entrusted to the finance committee or to some other committee, as we have seen is the case in Oxfordshire. In Oxfordshire there seems to be an unwritten law that the finance committee should not include any of the chairmen of the principal spending committees. This is evidently an excellent principle to adopt for a finance committee, provided the finance committee is not the committee which prepares and co-ordinates the council's general policy. Berkshire has evolved an interesting solution of this problem. Its finance committee does include the chairmen of all its principal spending committees, but within it there is an inner circle, the finance sub-committee, which prepares the general lines of policy and is described as Berkshire's cabinet. The chairmen of the principal committees are invited in turn to attend this sub-committee and express their views and wishes, but are not members of it and have no vote. The recommendations of the finance sub-committee must then be passed in the full committee; they also require the formal approval of the whole council, but this is always given without debate. This system should certainly lead to an economical partition of the available funds between the different activities of the council; it might mean that policy was determined too exclusively by financial considerations.

¹ But the director of education is appointed by the education committee.



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radical changes adopted in November 1937, which have tended to assimilate it to them in some respects.¹

The whole council meeting in full session plays a far greater role than in the counties, and it does its business in the limelight of a much greater publicity. It meets much more frequently than the county councils, its sessions are longer and more fully reported in the press. Under the new standing orders it is to meet in public session once a fortnight. Hitherto it has held only one public session a month, while meeting every week in camera, disguised as a 'Committee of the whole Council'. The process of development has been an interesting one. Until some years ago, the council attempted to transact practically all business publicly in full session and gave its committees no executive powers. The inconvenience of this method having become apparent, a remedy was sought in weekly sessions from which the press was excluded. The originators of this scheme presumably hoped that practically every question of importance would be settled in these sessions, though they were legally mere 'Committees' whose proceedings required confirmation at a subsequent public session, and that this public confirmation would be a mere matter of form and not lead to renewed debate. This hope, it seems, was not fulfilled. The 'Committees of the whole Council' did not eliminate public debates, while they proved an obstacle in the way of development by the committees (in the ordinary sense of the word) of independence and responsibility of their own. The new scheme assigns two sessions a month for public debates, but delegates real executive powers to real committees, including the right to spend money within the limits of the estimates. Thus the notion that committees have a merely preparatory function and that all decisions must be taken by the full council has been abandoned, and new arrangements have been made resembling those in the counties for co-ordinating the newly gained freedom of the committees.

These committees are much more numerous than those of the county councils. They are also on the whole distinctly smaller, ten or twelve being the usual number of committeemen—except on the education and public assistance committees, which are much larger and more independent. A new large public health committee of twenty-four members, for co-ordinating all public health activities, is a feature of the reorganization. Attendance at committee meetings would seem to be much higher than in the counties—about 80 per

¹ These changes have been made so recently that it is impossible at the time of writing (February 1938) to judge what ultimate effects they will have.

cent. of the membership; perhaps this is the effect of the rule that the two members of any standing committee who have the lowest attendance retire automatically from that committee at the end of the year. Above all, committees meet much more frequently than in the counties; most of them meet at least fortnightly. We have been supplied with figures showing the number of committee and sub-committee meetings in 1936 (excluding 'Committees of the whole Council'); in that year 819 committee meetings were held, a remarkable figure, equivalent to nearly three meetings on every weekday of the year. Although no member of the council may serve on more than two standing committees, it is evident that the office of city councillor is no sinecure and involves the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and energy. The number of committees has been slightly reduced by the recent organization; henceforward they will in the main 'report' transactions already carried through, instead of merely 'recommending' policies to council. We should not overrate the importance of the change; there is no doubt that in the past recommendations were usually adopted, if the chairman knew his business, but it will often be a great gain for a committee to be able to take action without waiting for a council meeting, and to know that its actions are irreversible.

The selection of the personnel of committees obviously becomes more important under the new system than it was under the old. It is made by a small selection committee of experienced councillors every year after the elections. The principles which are, and should be, adopted have been a matter of some dispute. Before the War there was a good deal of arrangement between the local organizations of the two great national parties as to the composition of the influential committees. After the War a fair representation of the wards on each committee was generally attempted. In recent years the local Labour party have been claiming proportional representation according to parties. The recent reorganization scheme, however, is based upon quite a different principle. It has aimed at securing the greatest possible co-ordination of policy and the maximum regularity of attendance at committees, and so has devised a system of 'interlocking' membership. Roughly, one member of every committee is to serve on every other committee whose field of work is at all akin, e.g. one member of the education committee is to be on each of the allied library, public health, housing, baths, and parks committees. But these are to be as far as possible different members of the education committee; it is not desired that a few councillors should be on many committees. If this interlocking is to be achieved,

not much account can be taken either of parties or wards. No chairman of a committee may retain office longer than five years, and committee membership probably changes much more than is the case with the county councils.

The co-optation of outsiders does not seem to occur in the city, except on those committees where it is statutorily required. But we must remember the somewhat unusual element introduced by university representation, which brings on to the council persons who would not as a rule be popularly elected. In several cases committeemen have some special qualification for their work.

According to the new 'General Instructions', committees are to have a general review of policy twice a year, and to hold a session every November to consider the requirements of the remote future. They are also to inspect once a year any department for which they may be responsible. It must not, of course, be supposed that there is one committee clearly responsible for each department, though last year's reorganization has brought things somewhat nearer to that ideal. We have attempted to show the present arrangement of committees and departments by means of the diagram facing this page (Fig. 34).

Formerly the task of co-ordinating the work of the various committees was undertaken, so far as it was undertaken at all, by the finance committee (not, as in the case of a county council, a statutory committee), to which the other committees had to submit all proposals involving expenditure. In addition, the mayor was an *ex officio* member of all committees, but clearly could not be expected to attend them all. Nor did the town clerk or deputy-town clerk attend all committees. Instead of the relatively permanent chairman of a county council, a county borough council has a mayor who changes every year and who is heavily loaded with ceremonial duties. It was widely felt that the existing machinery was inadequate to secure a continuous and far-sighted policy, with the best distribution of resources between the council's various tasks. The recent reorganization scheme aims at supplying this deficiency. In the first place an advisory committee consisting of the chairmen of all the principal committees has been set up to consider questions of long-term policy. Secondly, the finance committee has been relieved of various extraneous duties connected with staffing and stores, and is to include one member (not the chairman) of each of the principal committees. Further, the heads of departments are to meet in conference from time to time. In addition some minor, but valuable, steps have been taken to co-ordinate the purchase of property, by

COUNCIL

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TOWN CLERK & CLERK OF THE PEACE

MAGISTRATE'S CLERK

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S. ASSISTANT ESTABLISHMENT MAYOR'S ADVISORY BOARD.

BOARDING-OUT

STANDING

HOSPITAL MANAGE-
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PURPOSES

MENTAL
HOSPITAL

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means of a confidential register, and to prevent the unnecessary digging-up of the highways. It will be interesting to see whether these changes avail to remedy the 'headlessness' from which the larger English county boroughs often suffer.

Important as is the improvement of machinery, most people will think that the quality of those who fill the offices is even more important.

The electoral returns are interesting, both as showing the place played by party organizations in city elections, and as giving a picture of the social composition of the council. We examined the election results for every third year since 1901;¹ out of the 168 persons elected to the council in those years, there were:

- 64 retail traders
- 11 builders
- 8 manufacturers and merchants
- 8 licensed victuallers
- 7 lawyers
- 1 minister of religion
- 18 other professional men
- 26 retired from their business or profession
- 2 farmers
- 4 clerks
- 3 artisans
- 11 women (occupation unspecified)

The retail tradesmen formed 38 per cent., those retired from business formed 26 per cent. of the total. One hundred and thirty-nine, or 83 per cent., were officially adopted by a party organization; the remainder stood as Independents. It is not possible to show the university representation by this method, but since the 1932 re-organization, 15 per cent. of the whole council are always university members, most of them teachers or administrators. Briefly, we may say that trade, especially retail trade, predominates on the city council, with a strong minority of professional men, including the university representatives. Women seem to be in greater demand than in the county. The great inroads which are made on the time of councillors put a premium on men who have retired from business or professional life. There is a conspicuous absence of manual workers and of the representatives of big business, despite the fact that there are now several large industrial concerns in Oxford. The explanation of the absence of the big industrialists may probably be found in the derating provisions of the Local Government Act

¹ Data kindly furnished by the Town Clerk's Department.

of 1929, as a result of which the amount paid in rates by large firms is so small compared with their other expenses¹ that such firms have little direct interest in the wise and economical expenditure of the rates.

The city Labour party maintains that the holding of the council meetings in the morning is a serious bar to working-class candidates for the council. Indeed, one Labour councillor who recently resigned gave as his reason the impossibility of regular attendance at morning meetings. Resolutions in favour of evening meetings have been before the council several times; the most recent one was only narrowly defeated. It should be realized that this is not a simple issue, since evening meetings would put a serious strain on the permanent staffs.

The organization of parties on the council is not a rigid one. The Labour members work more as a group than any other section, voting together unless the whip is relaxed (which, however, it often is). They meet as a group to discuss policy, and this arrangement is found to be very useful as a means of enabling all the Labour councillors to be conversant with the proceedings of the committees on which any of their number sit. Moreover, the Labour members have more contact with their ward organizations than the other councillors; their meetings are attended by delegates from the city Labour party, and they make reports every month to their ward committees or to the executive committee of the central council of the party. An interesting experiment has been started in the Headington ward, whose Labour councillors periodically hold meetings of their constituents to discuss municipal affairs.

The distinction between Conservative and Liberal on the council has become almost nominal, as has happened in many other councils, where anti-Socialist groups have been formed. In Oxford the only real party issues now as between Conservatives and Liberals are the elections of mayor, sheriff, and aldermen. The position before the War was very different; then each of the two parties was organized under a strong leader who expected the councillors in his party to follow his instructions on council matters. At the present time there is no such system, and the organization of Conservatives and Liberals is very intermittent and confined to particular issues. The same tendencies are apparent in the organization of the elections. 'Conservative' and 'Liberal' are preserved as labels for can-

¹ e.g. in 1938 the amount paid in rates in Oxford by Morris Motors Ltd. was £2,149, whereas the net profits for 1937 of the whole combine amounted to nearly £2,000,000.

didates, but apparently these titles are not intended to have the significance they carry in parliamentary elections. The City Conservative Association with its full-time agent is almost exclusively concerned with the parliamentary side of the work and only acts in an advisory capacity to the ward associations, each of which selects its own candidates without any of the elaborate organization which the Labour party has devised. This party has recently been organized on a ward basis, and the method of choosing candidates is now as follows. Each ward association sends in nominations to the executive committee of the general council, a body which is composed of delegates from the wards and representatives from affiliated trade unions. From the nominations the executive committee draws up a panel from which the ward association select their candidates. The selection of the ward has always to be endorsed by the central body which can, theoretically, itself put up a candidate in any ward, independently of the ward association. It is obvious that these methods must encourage much more unity among the Labour councillors than is found among other sections of the council; whether such organization is necessary or advisable in municipal affairs is a matter which will not be discussed here.

Public interest in local government.

There are two criteria whereby the value to the people of governmental services may be judged. The first kind is the economic criterion—the proportion of their income which they are prepared to pay for the services. We may investigate whether this is absolutely high or low, whether it is rising or falling; such tests are applied in the following chapter. But in the case of services publicly supplied, the application of economic measurements is not at all simple, for a man cannot decide in absolute freedom how much he thinks it worth while paying to have the local government services. True, there have been rate-strikes, and—what is far more important—many people have, and exercise, a real choice between two or more local authorities when deciding where to live or set up their business, comparing both the services provided and the rates charged for these. In the Survey Area it is probably dearer, owing to the high assessments, to live in the county borough, and some people will have chosen their residence with this in mind;¹ on the other hand, some will have chosen to live in the county borough owing to the superior

¹ But if the last reassessment goes through, valuations will probably be as high in the suburban fringe surrounding the county borough; and rate poundage there is, of course, much higher.

services. Such decisions cannot be measured quantitatively. But in the sphere of governmental services, besides economic pressure, men have also various means of political pressure to secure what they want, and these—election results for example—can to some extent be measured. This is the political criterion. The correct interpretation of these results is not easy, however. A low percentage voting at local government elections may mean at least three things. It may mean that there is great satisfaction with the quality of the services provided, and a widespread opinion that they are good value at the price. Or, it may mean that although the services and the cost to the ratepayers are felt to be of great importance, and although the electors are by no means satisfied with quality and price, yet they have not much faith in the efficacy of the means of political pressure at their disposal—they do not, for instance, think it will really make much difference which of the alternative candidates is elected. Or, again, it may mean that men regard the whole business as unimportant because neither the services nor the cost are of much interest to them relatively to the rest of their activities. This source of indifference must have been strengthened in recent years by the growing tendency of the central government to administer those services about which political controversy is keenest. The need for national action during the War and financial stringency immediately after it made local authorities unable to deal with some of the pressing problems which arose. The central government, with its more elastic system of taxation, bore the main financial burden and consequently carried out the administration; the primary example of such a development is unemployment, the task of dealing with which was completely assumed by the central government in 1934. These theoretical considerations seem of importance when considering trends of election statistics. Yet we should not always assume that people feel no interest in the local government of their district just because they show no marked desire to turn the government out.

The most obvious and easily measurable means of political pressure is the election. In this field, as in most others, the difference between the county borough and the counties is very striking.

We have no statistics either for parish or for rural district council elections. All that can be said is that in both cases the number of contested elections is extremely small. In the 1931 rural district council elections in our Area, in the forty-eight electoral divisions (parishes or grouped parishes), there were four contests; in the 1937 elections there were two contests; and in some few parishes there was undoubtedly some difficulty in getting any one to stand. In county

council elections much the same is the case, as the following table shows:

TABLE 45
County council elections in the Survey Area
Oxfordshire

<i>Electoral division</i>	<i>Voters registered</i>		<i>Number of contests</i>		<i>Percentage voting when contested</i>
	<i>1901</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>Before 1919</i>	<i>After 1919</i>	
Bletchington	527	1,202	None	2	34; 38
Dorchester	680	1,603	None	1	43
Eynsham and Standlake	*	1,559	..	None	..
Gt. Milton and Wheatley	*	1,607	..	None	..
Handborough	*	1,358	..	None	..
Kidlington	658	1,733	None	1	34
Launton	556	1,363	1	1	74; 51
Littlemore	557	1,439	None	1	30
Stanton St. John	393	1,131	None	None	..
Woodstock	658	1,338	None	2	70; 49

* These divisions were only constituted in 1932.

Berkshire

(Data only available from 1922)

<i>Electoral division</i>	<i>Voters registered 1934</i>	<i>Contests after 1922</i>	<i>Percentage voting when contested</i>
Abingdon East	1,818	1	48
Abingdon West	1,707	1	56
Cumnor	3,467	None	..
Drayton	2,053	None	..
Marcham	1,270	None	..

It will be apparent from this table that contested elections in the county area are so infrequent that it is quite impossible to establish any trend—to establish, for example, any increase or decline of popular interest since the War. It will also appear that such contests as there are take place in divisions which are to some extent ‘urbanized’; also, that when there is a contest, the percentage voting compares not unfavourably with the county borough, at least since the War. But, in general, the county voter seems content to let his representative remain in office for many years—unless he has any special grievance against him. The county council is to all intents and purposes a self-perpetuating body. Sitting councillors often approach persons whom they consider suitable as candidates for vacant seats and

an election is avoided by these arrangements made before nomination. Only very recently indeed has there been evidence of any party organization of elections in the county, although we have heard it stated that the Farmers' Union exercises a certain influence.

We are informed that in the county there is no difficulty in getting sufficient candidates to put up for the council—though, of course, they seldom have to submit to a contest. In the city, on the other hand, difficulty in finding candidates to stand for the council seems to have been fairly frequent in post-war years, although unknown before the War—to judge from the press. But whether this is due to lack of public interest, or to the immensely greater number of council and committee meetings in the city than in the county, is not easy to determine. However, this comparison between the two areas suggests that a scarcity of candidates in the city may be due less to declining public interest than to sheer inability of most people to give up so much time. This expenditure of time in the case of city councillors seems unavoidable when so much business which, in the counties, is dispersed over several bodies is, in the city, concentrated in the hands of one local authority.

The situation in the city with regard to elections is very different from that in the county. In the city, until fairly lately, nearly every election was contested, and we have been able in most cases to obtain the figures of those voting at the municipal elections since 1901. These figures show some interesting features. They will be found in Table 46. Voting in the city elections is more complicated than in the county by reason of the fact that every elector may vote for each of the two¹ candidates he likes best; or he may vote for one only; or none at all. Consequently there are two different ratios, either of which we might take to express the voter's interest or the lack of it. We might express the number of voters who go to the poll as a percentage of the number of voters registered; or the number of votes actually recorded as a percentage of the number which might have been recorded, had the electors cast all the votes which they were allowed to use. We have adopted the second method for showing the results in each ward, but we also give, wherever possible, the figure for the whole city which emerges from using the first method.² There does not seem to be any important difference in the trends of the two sets of

¹ Before the reorganization in 1929 he could give three votes, since there were three representatives for each ward; now there are two.

² This procedure is adopted because the figures for votes cast are the more complete and accurate, since they are derived from the council minute books, whereas the figures of voters voting are derived from newspaper reports of the elections. The percentages of votes cast are always smaller than the percentages of voters voting.

figures. It is an odd fact that such a large number—sometimes perhaps as many as a quarter—of those who go to the poll do not use all the votes they are entitled to use, but it is not clear what conclusion should be drawn from it. Is it that electors are only interested in their party man, and not at all in the other candidates? This is likely enough, where a party only puts up one candidate; but it often puts up two.¹ Is it because candidates are insufficiently known to the electorate? Is it because the system is too complicated for some voters? These are questions we do not feel able to answer.

Taking the council as a whole one cannot fail to be struck by the decline in the percentage voting which sets in after the War, and which becomes a sharp and steady decline after 1925, whichever method of reckoning is adopted. In 1934 only 24 per cent. of voters went to the poll, and the votes recorded were only 18 per cent. of the possible votes. Again, in the thirteen years before the War, there were eleven unopposed returns; in the last eight years since the reorganization of 1929 there were twenty-six councillors returned unopposed. Nor does this give the full measure of the situation; for since 1925 we find a good many instances of candidates being put up to oppose who get extremely few votes—‘freak candidates’ as they are customarily described by the local press. Some allowance must be made for the years 1930 and 1931, since the councillors standing for re-election in those years had faced their electors more recently than usual—in 1929, when the whole council had to seek re-election. But there seems no doubt that the decline sets in before the reorganization and continues long after its effects should have disappeared. Possibly its continuation may be due to the weakening of the rivalry between Liberals and Conservatives in the field of national politics, consequent on the formation of the National Government. It seems, at any rate, to be accompanied by a distinct increase in the number of candidates calling themselves ‘Independent’; an ‘Independent’ candidate was an exceedingly rare bird before the War. Very recently, however, the growing strength of the Labour party in Oxford has sharpened party issues once more. If one may judge from candidates’ labels, the Labour party, which had been important from 1919 till the reorganization, thereafter suffered a certain eclipse, but it has made rapid recovery in the last three years. In 1933 there were three Labour candidates, none elected; in 1934 there were two Labour

¹ But this explanation seems inconsistent with the diagram facing p. 200. This shows that when the number of voters going to the polls is high they use more of their votes than at times when the number going to the poll is low. Therefore this seems to be due rather to the apathy of the voter than to keen partisan spirit.

TABLE 46
Oxford municipal elections, 1901-37

Year	Votes cast as percentage of possible votes.							Voters voting as percentage of voters registered.	
	North Ward	South Ward	East Ward	West Ward	Cowley and Lilley Ward	Headington Ward	Summerdown and Wolverde Ward	Total	Total
1901	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1902	no contest	no contest	no contest	37	..	..	..	37	56
1903	43	41	70	49	..	..	..	60	67
1904	32	no contest	58	25	..	..	..	43	56
1905	54	36	57	48	..	..	..	47	55
1906	no contest	39	40	47	..	..	..	56	61
1907	42	34	50	45	..	..	..	41	59
1908	no contest	56	no contest	45	..	..	..	45	62
1909	51	63	60	45	..	..	..	54	62
1910	no contest	32	56	54	..	..	..	57	71
1911	49	42	58	24	..	..	..	30	54
1912	46	60	44	44	..	..	..	50	62
1913	no contest	25	45	43	..	..	..	48	61
1914-18	no elections owing to War	35	37	..	..	..	..	32	49
1919	30	39	34	..	..	..	..	..	..
1920	no contest	30	34	30	..	..	..	33	44
1921	49	40	52	46	..	..	..	32	43
1922	47	31	44	38	..	..	..	48	53
1923	no contest	17	38	31	..	..	..	41	49
1924	38	41	32	34	..	..	..	31	7
1925	56	43	29	49	..	..	..	36	47
1926	47	35	23	41	..	..	..	43	54
1927	34	33	24	34	..	..	..	35	43
1928	24	no elections owing to extension of city	24	..	..	..	..	30	41
1929	23	no contest	28	24	no contest	..	..	..	..
1930	no contest	..	16	17	15	45	25	28	41
1931	23	..	no contest	23	no contest	no contest	no contest	17	?
1932	..	..	..	no contest	21	..	..	23	?
1933	25	..	19	25	no contest	..	..	21	?
1934	21	20	no contest	26	14	11	..	23	24
1935	no contest	22	25	28	10	31	..	18	24
1936	..	34	36	35	34	39	..	23	27
1937	28	29	25	45	30	no contest	30	34	34

candidates, one of whom was successful. The party was strong enough in 1936 to provoke a working alliance of the other two parties against it, and in 1937 there were eight Labour (including Communist) candidates, of whom four were elected. There are now thirteen Labour members of the council.

The growing importance of Labour in the council is a direct consequence of the increasing industrialization of Oxford, for out of this is developing a cleavage of policy and interest between the old city, where political allegiance is still mainly Conservative, and the new wards, where Labour is in the ascendant. An influential factor in this situation is that Oxford has for many years derived a large income from the colleges, which demand no commensurate return in the provision of services. Oxford is still a wealthy municipality, but its new population is imposing on it new obligations in the way of provision of schools and clinics, the extension of sanitary services, and the provision of houses. Hence the outer wards, which are almost entirely inhabited by the wage-earning sections of the community, who need more services than they can pay for, are developing a more advanced policy than the old wards, where Conservatives and Liberals (with certain exceptions) incline to advocate a cautious policy in municipal affairs. The cleavage of interest between the old and the new city has been presented here in its sharpest terms, but this does not mean that council business is, or is likely to be, stultified by party rivalry. The same problem has been presented in other places, although perhaps in a less acute form, and is being solved by the traditional methods of compromise.

This digression on the factors underlying the political complexion of the city council has been given in order that the election results in the different wards may be made more intelligible. In spite of these political issues the accompanying figures do not show much active interest on the part of the electorate. All parties are agreed that canvassing is the only effective method of arousing interest in the elections; meetings are of little avail, since the attendance at them is generally meagre. In the closing years of the last century and the first decade of the present one the average poll was 60-70 per cent. of the electorate, and these results are attributed by former workers in municipal elections to much more assiduous house-to-house visiting by the candidates and their supporters.¹ However, in some cases at

¹ In an effort to stimulate the interest of electors in local government, particularly economical local government, a Ratepayers' Association was started in Oxford in 1932. It now has 1,200 members, but its activities are hampered by the apathy of the electorate. Nevertheless, it performs a useful service in collecting and publishing information on council issues.

any rate at the present time, failure to canvass is the result of deliberate policy, since the minimum poll necessary for success is all that is sought for by the party organizations, which do not wish to burden themselves with the trouble and expense of getting 'unnecessary' voters to the poll. In 1929 all parties had to create an organization in the newly formed wards; but two of the old wards had been reduced in size and made more manageable. The percentage voting in the three wards which were taken in from the county was for some years, in the few elections that occurred, lower than elsewhere, but it has now caught up with the other wards. The north ward has always had markedly fewer contested elections than any of the other original wards; but its representation has been fairly evenly divided between Conservatives and Liberals, and when it does have a contest the percentage polling is not markedly lower than in other wards. The citizens of the west ward are by far the most contentious.

In the accompanying diagram (Fig. 35) an attempt has been made to correlate the figures of voting at elections with those events of local history which seem—to judge from the files of the *Oxford Times*—to have excited popular interest at the time. Two things must be borne in mind with regard to this diagram. The first is, that it would have no sense at all if the voting in the different wards showed completely different trends. If this were so, one would have to conclude that the voters were primarily interested in the personality of the candidate, or in issues affecting their ward alone. But it is clearly not so; when the percentage voting is high in any ward, it tends to be high in all the wards, and vice versa. The second is, that the *lines* on the diagram signify nothing; they do not signify a gradual downward trend of public interest (since we have thought it better not to include by-elections); they are a mere guide to the eye, to enable it to detect the *points* representing the figures of the annual elections.

Examining the diagram with these cautions in mind, we cannot refrain from the conclusion that local issues have very little to do with the voting at elections, and that this is far more affected by national issues. At times when matters of immense local importance are at stake, such as the question whether the transport system of the city should be municipalized or not, or the question whether the city boundaries should be extended, the polling is remarkably low; at times when there is little at stake locally, but big national events are occurring, the polling is high. It must be admitted that this explanation does not seem to work for the high figure of 1925, of which we cannot find any satisfactory explanation.

When we go beyond election statistics, it is difficult to find any

objective measures of public interest in the proceedings of local government bodies. Oxford is fortunate in having a weekly and a daily local paper which give a good deal of space to reporting the activities of the local authorities. In this, Oxford is better served than most provincial towns, and it is therefore remarkable that there is not more evidence of popular interest in these matters. It cannot be said that the general public attends council meetings to any great extent; indeed, even if they wished it would be impossible for them to do so in the case of the city council, where there is only provision in the council chamber for some twenty spectators at most. Complaints are also made of the inconvenience and bad acoustics of the spectators' gallery at the County Hall. In 1932 the press and public were excluded from most of the deliberations of the city council, and a great many matters were decided in what was technically a 'committee of the whole council'. Under that system 'leakages' and 'revelations' were not infrequent. Now, a return to greater publicity is to be made; it remains to be seen whether the increased number of public meetings will increase public interest in the council's proceedings. Public meetings are still held to protest against this or that action of the council, and it seems to us—this must always be a matter of personal opinion—that the council is fairly sensitive to such expressions of public feeling. Indeed, the frequent vacillations of policy, to which attention is drawn below,¹ seem to be due to such popular agitations carried on in the press and by means of public meetings.

These agitations appear to be invariably critical of something which the council has done, or is alleged to have done—especially of any increase in expenditure. We can find no instance since 1901 of a new service being established by the council as the direct result of a popular demand arising outside the council. Nor does any big increase of expenditure necessarily arouse public interest—for example, the big new waterworks scheme does not seem to have attracted much attention at the time it was adopted.

In the county area, parish meetings seem to be fairly often held to protest against this or that, or even to demand a new service. At the time of the Oxford boundary extension the parishes on the fringe showed a good deal of activity. Again, Eynsham effectively protested against its lack of services and successfully demanded to have its own parochial committee of the rural district council. Kennington's complaints about its inadequate provision of street lighting, because the two neighbouring parishes which shared jurisdiction

¹ p. 203.

over it disagreed in their policy, led in the end to its being constituted a separate parish.

We can find no instance of a public meeting being called in connexion with any action of the county councils. In part, of course, this is explained by the existence of the machinery of parish meeting or parish council which should usually render unnecessary any *ad hoc* organization for discussion of particular projects. However, in the case of the Oxfordshire County Council, there have since 1900 only been three or four actions of the council which have excited any comment in the press. Presumably the formality of the quarterly meetings prevents their having much news-value.¹ The only public meeting about municipal affairs in the boroughs, about which we have information, was one held at Woodstock in 1934 to demand more publicity on the proposed drainage scheme which the council had under consideration.

Conclusion.

The work of local authorities has been greatly increased, perhaps even doubled, by new legislation since 1914. Parliament has imposed on them one duty after another, with the consequence that local government officers have had to undertake work for which they were not trained. There has also been a great multiplication of committees, for the reaction to a new duty has been, in many cases, the appointment of a new committee to attend to it. This has resulted in a gradual accretion of committees whose relations with each other and with the departments which they control have become increasingly complicated. If we consider the city of Oxford we find that it has avoided the scandalous conflicts between departments which have occurred in some places, but it is clear that a great deal of time and energy, and therefore of money, has been wasted because until recently little has been done to adapt the old machinery to its new and increased functions. It is not surprising that the city council has sometimes been charged with being slow and undecided in its policy. If we look at some of the principal issues of the last thirty-six years we find that the charge has often been justified. It took twelve years from the time when the old Tramway Company's lease

¹ To remedy the admitted lack of public interest in the county council's proceedings one councillor has made the interesting suggestion that committees should issue communiqués to the press. One imagines that it would be hard to get agreement on the wording of the communiqués. In the counties, where the meetings of the full council necessarily cannot be of much general interest, this is a serious problem. In Oxfordshire, meetings of the education and public assistance committees, in Berkshire, meetings of the education and agricultural committees, are public.

expired before it was settled what form of transport was to replace it. During this time many decisions were taken and subsequently reversed. Here it must be said that public opinion outside the council was more alive to the possibilities of buses than was the council itself, and may fairly be said to have imposed them on a rather unwilling council. Again, in 1902 the council rejected the Board of Education's demand that the Technical School should be moved from its present site; after much money has been spent in makeshift solutions, it has recently been decided to move it. In 1928 the council decided to move the City of Oxford High School; in 1930 they decided not to move it; it is now to be moved. In 1924 the Oxford Electric Company's lease was renewed upon terms which made the purchase of the undertaking, decided upon some six years later, much more onerous than it need have been, and gave rise to the present discontents. No doubt circumstances change, and there is much that no man can foresee; but still the council's treatment of these issues does seem to show a certain vacillation and lack of foresight. The radical alterations in the working of the committees and departments of the city which have now been instituted, although we cannot yet judge of their effect, are to be welcomed as an attempt to meet this charge.

As to the economy of the system, it is hard to form any opinion. Oxford is one of the lowest-rated cities in the kingdom, but that is not very significant, as it undoubtedly has an unusually large number of people who contribute more than they cost. It has a high capital expenditure per head; this subject is discussed in the next chapter. During and just after the War there were many complaints of the city's antiquated method of accounting; this has been remedied. The corporation accounts were not published until 1920. It has been stated in certain informed quarters that more might be done in the way of cost-accounting.

There has been no allegation of corruption or patronage, whether of councillors or officials, since the beginning of this century. There have been several allegations that the policy advocated by councillors has been influenced by their shareholdings in private enterprises with which the council has dealings. However, the rules precluding councillors who are interested parties from voting upon contracts are strict enough. As long as our democratic system remains, there must always on occasions be a conflict between the private interests and the public duty of councillors. We should not assume, without the most definite proof, that on such occasions public duty gives way to private interest.

On the whole the record of the last forty years as reflected in the

local press suggests an increase of efficiency in many directions. But we should not be too complacent, for with a growing population the unsolved problems may grow faster than the new steps taken to meet them. There is almost certainly still room for improvement in respect of the representative system—taking this to include all the various means for keeping in touch with public needs and criticisms; in respect of the organization of committees and staffs within each authority; and above all in respect of the allocation of powers and areas between the many different authorities in the field.

CHAPTER X

FINANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

WHAT is the cost of local government in the Survey Area? How is that cost met? To what degree has it been affected by the changes of national policy and of local development during the years since the War?

These are questions which must be asked—and answered—if there is to be any full understanding of the problems of local government. But they are not easy questions; and it is necessary first to define clearly the nature of the problem, and to explain some of the difficulties of dealing with it.

What is to be understood by the term 'the cost of local government'? One commonly used measure of it is the amount of money which has to be collected from the citizens in the form of rates, and this is no doubt very important. But for most economic and social purposes, it is too narrow a measure, for it does not indicate the whole of the demand which is made by local authorities on the economic resources of their area. Many local public services are paid for 'by the piece', by those who use them, as and when they use them. This is most obviously true of the so-called 'trading services'—the supply of water and electricity, cemeteries, private street improvements, and the like—which are normally expected to pay their way without help from the rates. But almost every department of a local authority derives some part of its revenue from specific fees for services rendered. Even public assistance committees recover from the relatives of people whom they assist part of the costs of relief, and obtain some income from the sale of the proceeds of labour performed in workhouses. There is also a group of services of ever-growing importance, including baths, housing, and secondary education, which are not, indeed, expected to 'pay their way' completely, but in meeting the cost of which the element of the specific charge is extremely important. Moreover, all local authorities receive large sums in the form of grants from the central government, which may or may not be ear-marked for a particular service; these have the effect of reducing the cost to the citizens as ratepayers, but, at the same time, of increasing it to the citizens as taxpayers. It therefore seems best to take, as the widest measure of the cost of local government, the total annual expenditure on current account of the local authorities in the Area, on the services which they administer; and

then to examine the sources from which this is met. In addition to this, of course, there is every year a considerable expenditure on capital account. This represents the cost of improvements and buildings of a permanent nature and of the purchase of land, and for the most part it is financed from loans or from the proceeds of the sale of capital assets. It is more convenient to treat this separately from expenditure upon current account; its total amount varies much more from year to year, and sinking-fund and interest charges on past capital expenditure already enter into current expenditure for any given year. If, over a number of years, we were simply to add together the totals of current and capital expenditure, we should be committing the fallacy of the 'double counting' of expenditure—of the original capital cost, and of the annual sinking-fund on it.

The cost of drawing up a consolidated account of annual current expenditure is not, however, altogether simple. In the first place, it is clearly desirable for most purposes to eliminate transfers from one authority to another. One authority often performs services for another. A rural district council, for instance, is responsible for levying rates not only for its own use but also on behalf of the county council and certain other 'precepting authorities';¹ and the gross total of its income and expenditure is correspondingly inflated. Again, a certain number of Oxfordshire children attend schools maintained by the Oxford City Council. Payment is made by the county for them, which appears on the expenditure side of county accounts, and on the income side of those of the city. The county has to raise rates, which appear as income, to cover this payment to the city, and the city has to make additional expenditure for teachers, school upkeep, and so on. It is clear that a mere addition of the county and city accounts would count this expenditure twice; the transfer must be eliminated in order to arrive at the true total cost of the education service in the Area. As far as possible this has been done in the accompanying tables. Expenditure is entered under the heading of the authority by which each service is actually administered; receipts, on the other hand, are (except in the case of rates levied under precept) credited to that authority which first receives them. An exception has, however, been made in the case of special *ad hoc* authorities, such as the Thames Conservancy Board, the Bucks., Oxon., and Reading Joint Board for the Mentally Defective, district assessment committees, and a few others. These authorities derive the greater part of their funds from the 'general' authorities by way

¹ See p. 177 above.

of precept or agreed contribution, and it is convenient for most purposes to include this expenditure under the heading of the contributing authorities.

A further difficulty arises from the fact that the boundaries of the Survey Area do not correspond with those of all the local authorities with whose finance we are concerned. It includes only a part of the areas from which the Berkshire and Oxfordshire County Councils receive rates, and for which they provide services; the same is true of four of the five rural districts. It has therefore been necessary to estimate, in a more or less arbitrary way, the share of the total expenditure and income which can properly be attributed to the Survey Area. The most obvious method of doing this is to assume that expenditure made inside the Survey Area by, for example, the Oxfordshire County Council, bears the same proportion to its total expenditure as the population of that part of the Survey Area bears to that of the whole county. The same device has been applied to that portion of the income of the county council which is derived from sources other than rates.¹ For rates, which are levied parish by parish, it is possible to give exact figures of the sums contributed from the Survey Area.²

The consolidated tables given on pp. 217, 304-5 are thus subject to a certain margin of error in so far as they relate to the 'county' portions of the Area; but, subject to this qualification, they show the total annual expenditure and income of local authorities in the Survey Area just before the War—in the financial year 1913-14—and in 1935-6. They make possible a fairly accurate comparison of the cost of government per head in different parts of the Area in either of these years, and also of the relative costs of various groups of services. For a comparison between the two years, however, they must be used with some caution. Administrative practice in the matter of allocation of some kinds of expenditure between services certainly underwent some changes in the interval; and in some cases where no expenditure is shown for a particular service in 1913-14, this is because the small actual expenditure on that service was not separately distinguished from that on some other, or from general establishment charges. Further, the expenditure for 1913-14 for some services does not include loan charges, which are not separately

¹ The county councils administer certain services (e.g. elementary education and libraries) over a part of the counties only. In these cases, the 'quotas' of the Survey Area are calculated according to the proportion of its population to that of the part of the county in which the service is administered by the county council.

² The figures of rates collected in 1913-14 are not exact, but are calculated on the population basis.

allocated in the returns, but it may include some sums which to-day would appear under capital account.

Expenditure.

The total cost of local government in the year 1935-6 was nearly a million and a quarter pounds—about £8 18s.¹ for each man, woman, and child in the Survey Area. This total shows that nearly three-quarters was accounted for by Oxford City, and just over one-fifth by the county councils; the councils of municipal boroughs and of rural districts were responsible for only 6·4 per cent. between them, and the financial importance of the parish councils was relatively negligible.

Of the whole expenditure, about one-fifth—£246,000—took the form of annual interest and amortisation payments on past borrowing; approximately £350,000 was paid out in wages and salaries or was set aside as provision for superannuation and pensions; another sum of about £50,000 was spent in maintenance grants to individuals; and the remainder covered rents, rates and taxes, costs of repairs and materials, and other 'running expenses' of the authorities.

Of the main groups of services analysed in Fig. 36² education was financially the most costly, taking 22 per cent. of the whole expenditure. Next came the upkeep and lighting of roads and streets, with 16·4 per cent., and the public health services, with 11·1 per cent.; housing (8·7 per cent.), poor relief (7·8 per cent.), police (5·9 per cent.), and water-supply (4·3 per cent.) were all of substantial importance. General and financial administration—the 'political skeleton' of government—took about 4 per cent. of the whole. The supply of electricity, which nominally accounted for 12·4 per cent., cannot be strictly compared with the other services, since it was only in public ownership in the area of the old city of Oxford.

It is instructive to compare this expenditure in 1935-6 with that in the last year before the War.³ The contrast is startling. At that date the total expenditure was only some £280,000, so that the bill has been multiplied between four and five times in the space of twenty-two years. Population grew by less than one-half; expenditure per head increased more than threefold. A great growth of local expenditure has occurred, of course, in every part of Great

¹ The population on which this and other statements in this chapter are based is that for April 1st, 1935: the method of estimation is described in Appendix I, note 3. The figures obtained differ somewhat from the official (Registrar-General's) estimates, which are used as a basis of similar calculations in the published accounts of the Oxford Corporation.

² See also Appendix I, note 33, Table A.

³ Appendix I, note 33, Table B.

Britain during these twenty-two years, and the value of money has fallen by perhaps one-third; but the expansion in the Survey Area has been much more rapid than in the whole country. This

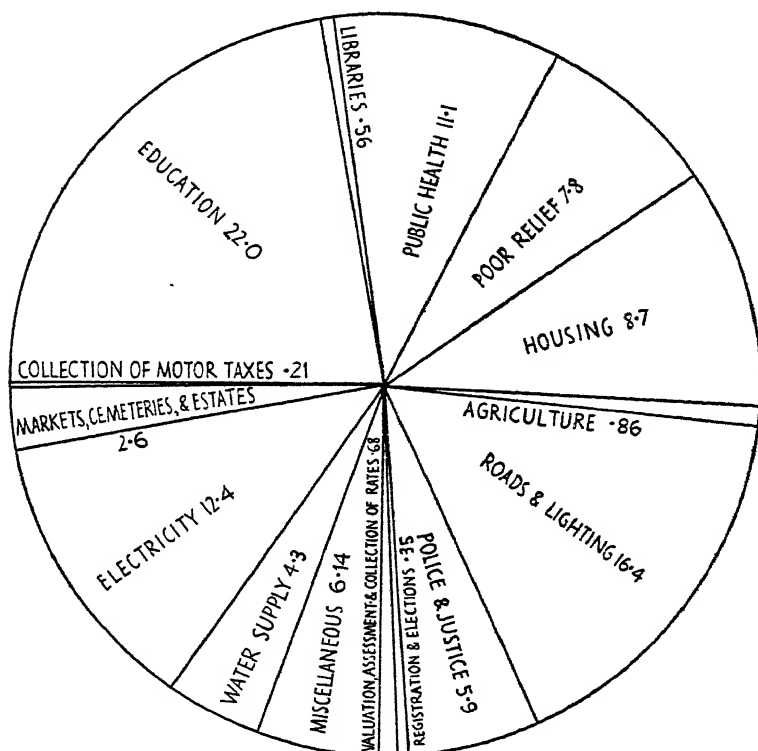


FIG. 36. Expenditure on Revenue Account of Local Authorities in the Survey Area, 1935
Analysed by Groups of Services (Figures show percentage of Total Expenditure)

must be mainly explained by the spread of urbanization and by the strain imposed by very rapid population growth; for it is *change*, and above all change from rural to urban conditions, which is most expensive in local government. It is not possible to give a continuous series of figures for expenditure over the intervening period, but the developments in Oxford City itself since 1930 are shown in Fig. 37. It will be observed that in six years the total expenditure was increased by just a half, and that on the rate-fund services alone by well over one-quarter. It is certain that the increase is yet very far from its end. In the Abingdon Rural District

expenditure rose from £9,200 in 1930-1 to £15,600 in 1935-6, an increase of more than two-thirds in five years.

If we examine in detail the cost of the various services we find

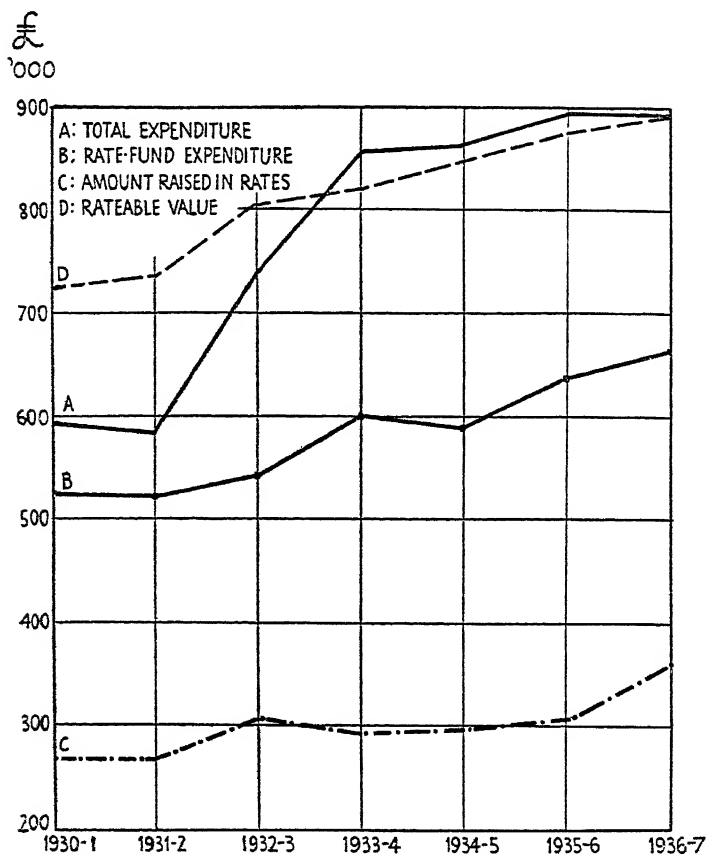


FIG. 37. Expenditure of Oxford C.B. on Current Account, and Amount Raised in Rates, 1930-1 to 1936-7.

that, though in all cases the growth has been large, it has been decidedly uneven. Two services, housing and electricity, which bulk very large to-day, elicited only negligible expenditure from local authorities before the War. They were exclusively matters for private enterprise, as electricity still is over most of the Survey Area. Of the groups of services which were already important before the War, public health has grown to between six and seven times the pre-war figure; education, roads, lighting, and water-supply about four times; and libraries and police a little less; while relief of the poor is little

more than two and a half times as costly. The relatively smaller growth of the last service is no doubt partly explained by the extension of unemployment insurance, which has shifted some of the burden from local to national authorities; but the prosperity of the

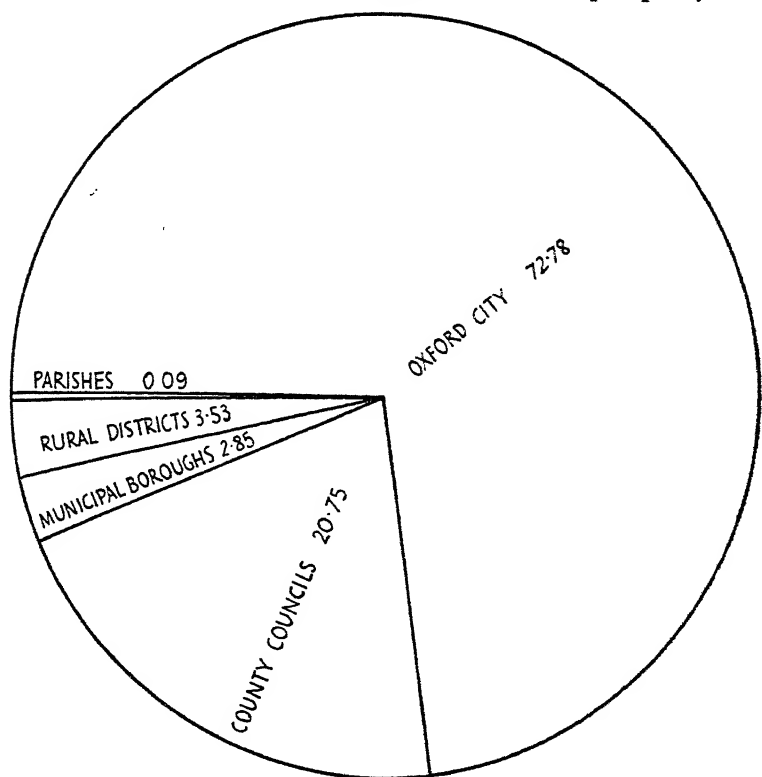


FIG. 38. Expenditure on Revenue Account of Local Authorities in the Survey Area, 1935-6.

Figures show Percentage of Total Expenditure on Revenue Account.

Area has also contributed, and the increase of cost per head is considerably less than in the rest of England and Wales. A part of the general increase in cost is the result of the growth of local public debt; the interest and sinking-fund charges for the whole Area amounted to only £36,500 in 1913-14, and to nearly £250,000 in 1935-6.

The growing importance of Oxford City itself is reflected in the comparative figures; its government absorbed 54 per cent. of the total for the whole Area in 1913-14, and nearly 73 per cent. (within its extended boundaries) in 1935-6. The changes in the administrative

importance of the various types of authority are also clear. The poor law guardians and the overseers of the poor, responsible for 14 per cent. of all expenditure before the War, have disappeared, and most of their functions have gone to increase the financial importance of the county borough and county councils. The county councils have also gained in importance from the expansion of the more specialized health services, and by the transfer from the rural district councils of the duty of maintaining secondary roads. This duty accounted before the War for nearly three-quarters of the expenditure of the latter authorities; but some of them have found compensation for the loss of this activity in the expansion of their functions as housing authorities and as providers of water, sewers, and lighting to their new suburban constituents. Expenditure in connexion with housing—most of it loan charges—indeed amounted to well over half of the total expenditure by the Bullingdon Rural District Council in 1935-6; and the proportion for the other rural districts was not much smaller. No exact figures are available for expenditure by parish councils in 1913-14, but, then as now, it was relatively negligible.¹

TABLE 47

Average expenditure per head of population in Survey Area, 1935-6

<i>District</i>	<i>By county borough or county council</i>			<i>By municipal borough or rural district council</i>			<i>Total expenditure</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Oxford C.B. . .	*9	15	8	..	..	..	*9	15	8
Abingdon M.B. .	5	3	6	4	1	3	9	4	9
Woodstock M.B. .	5	14	0	2	7	8	8	1	8
Abingdon R.D. .	5	3	6	1	2	4	6	5	10
Bullingdon R.D. .	5	14	0	1	8	10	7	2	10
Chipping Norton R.D.	5	14	0	1	5	8	6	19	8
Ploughley R.D. .	5	14	0	19	8		6	13	8
Witney R.D. . .	5	14	0	1	0	10	6	14	10

* Including electricity; excluding this, £8 2s. 3d.

The levels of expenditure per head of population are set out in Table 47. They varied in 1935-6 very considerably between city and county areas, and also between the different county districts; but the differences in cost were less than might have been expected in view of the different amount and character of the services rendered in town and country. The Oxford City figure of about £9 16s. per head was the highest; but if, in order to make it comparable with

¹ Rural parishes in the whole of Berkshire and Oxfordshire spent £7,108 in 1913-14, of which £2,264 was on allotments and £1,581 on lighting.

figures for other parts of the Area, the expenditure on electricity supply be excluded, it becomes about £8 2s. It is interesting to notice that this was considerably less than the combined expenditure—by county and borough councils together—in the borough of Abingdon, which was about £9 5s., and little more than that in Woodstock (£8 1s. 8d.).

In the 'rural' parts of the Area costs were naturally somewhat lower. The Oxfordshire County Council spent rather more per head of population than did that of Berkshire; this reverses the pre-war position. There were considerable differences between the *per capita* expenditures by the rural district councils, which ranged from just under £1 in Ploughley to about £1 9s. in Bullingdon. The combined expenditure by county and rural district councils thus varied from £7 3s. in Bullingdon to £6 6s. in Abingdon. These were, however, averages over the whole of each rural district. A rural district council is for some purposes a federal agency for its component parishes; a part of its expenditure is incurred to supply, in some parishes only, particular services, such as sewerage, water-supply, and scavenging, which it finances usually by 'special' and 'additional' items of rates. In some parishes, too, there will be some expenditure by the parish council. True expenditure per head may thus be rather below the average in purely agricultural villages, and considerably above it in some of those which have become suburbanized. It would involve too much labour to allocate these expenditures to each of the parishes in the whole Survey Area; but this has been done in Table 48 for a few of the extreme cases. It will be seen that the costs of local government in some of the suburbanized villages were already very high in 1935-6, even though the process of providing them with urgently needed urban services was hardly more than begun.

These costs per head may be compared, as a standard, with those for the country as a whole. In all county boroughs the average expenditure per head in 1934-5 (excluding that on electricity, gas, transport, harbours, and airports) was about £9 14s.; so that the comparable figure for Oxford City, £8 2s. 5d., was considerably lower.¹ In municipal boroughs the average combined cost was about £8 1s.—so that the figure for Abingdon was very much above the national average; and in rural districts the national average was £5 15s., which was, again, much less than that in any rural district in the Survey Area. The difference here springs from the higher level

¹ The national figure is, however, rather heavily weighted by the high costs in the great towns. In the group of county boroughs with populations between 75,000 and 100,000, the average *per capita* expenditure on a comparable basis was £8 17s.

of expenditure by the Berkshire and Oxfordshire county councils; for the national average of expenditure by rural district councils was £1 8s. 7d., which is actually above that of all the local rural districts except Bullingdon.

TABLE 48

Total expenditure per head in certain parishes, 1935-6

<i>Parish</i>	<i>By county council</i>	<i>By R.D.C. (General services)</i>	<i>By R.D.C. (Special services)</i>	<i>By parish council</i>	<i>By other L.A.s</i>	<i>Approximate total expenditure per head</i>
	£	£	£	£	£	£ s. d.
Tubney .	5.176	0.980	..	..	..	6 3 1
Elsfield .	5.701	1.243	..	..	..	6 18 11
Kidlington	5.701	0.772	0.421 *	0.018	..	6 18 3
Wheatley .	5.701	1.243	0.277 †	..	0.500 ||	7 14 5
Marston .	5.701	1.243	0.673 ‡	0.002	0.500 ||	8 2 5
Littlemore	5.701	1.243	0.435 §	0.032	0.500 ||	7 18 3

* Water-supply and scavenging. † Water-supply (loan charges on mains), scavenging, sewers, lighting. ‡ Water-supply (loan charges), scavenging, sewers.

§ Water-supply (loan charges), scavenging, sewers; lighting by parish council.

|| Approximate expenditure (other than cost of mains) on water-supply from Oxford City.

The difference between the lowest parish (Tubney) and the highest (Marston) was thus £1 19s. 4d., of which £1 3s. 6d. was in respect of special and parish expenditure.

Differences in costs per head may be due, of course, to any of several causes. They may be the result of differences in the amount and character of the services rendered; or of local differences in the ease of supplying any given service; or of differences in the economy and efficiency with which services are administered. It is rarely possible to distinguish the relative importance of these causes of difference in cost with any certainty or exactitude. Some points, however, are fairly clear. As far as urban areas are concerned, a large and fairly dense population is an advantage. Effective division of labour can be secured among the higher executive officers, and salaries can be offered sufficient to attract the best talent; schools, baths, and hospitals can usually be more fully used. Only in the largest towns do size and density of population make necessary elaborate and costly special services in public health, transport, slum clearance, and the like. A survey of expenditures per head of population by English county boroughs suggests that towns of moderate size—between 100,000 and 200,000—are the cheapest to govern; at both extremes—in the mammoth cities and in the ‘dwarfs’ of 70,000 or less—local government is disproportionately costly. It is also more costly in industrial than in mainly residential or market towns. Oxford is at present in

transition from the 'dwarf' to the 'moderate size' class, and she is also losing her old character of a residential university city, in which one great body of ratepayers—the university and colleges—were content to contribute much to, and use little of, local services. But the process of growth is certainly itself very expensive. It involves a rapid but almost necessarily piecemeal and unco-ordinated increase of administrative staff; it makes necessary heavy expenditure on town planning, and on the making and improving of roads; it means the erection of numerous schools and other buildings planned on a larger scale than is immediately necessary; and it usually also means the costly enlargement of existing municipal buildings, sources of water-supply, arrangements for sewage disposal, and the like. In all these matters it pays in the end to take a long view and to plan for the future; but the immediate results of doing so are heavy capital expenditures, the charges on which must be for some time met by a population smaller than that which will ultimately benefit from them. It may well be that, when the size of Oxford ultimately becomes stable, the city will be better and more cheaply governed than when it was a small town of 50,000 people; but the intervening period can hardly be anything but expensive.

In districts which are truly rural the needs for public services are clearly limited, and it may be possible to meet them with almost as small an expenditure per unit of service rendered as in the towns.¹ But the small town, such as Abingdon, which needs almost all the services of a large urban area, but which cannot spread their cost widely, is bound to be expensive to govern; and the suburban area, now so characteristic of the Oxford district, is the most costly of all. It needs most of the urban services though its population is still thin; it has to face the problem of heavy initial capital expenditure; and it has to choose between improvising at heavy cost its own water, sewerage, and lighting services or of running some risk of exploitation through high charges if it draws on those of the neighbouring town. The cost of government in the suburban areas is the most pressing financial problem of the Survey Area in the present and foreseeable future.

Revenue.

The great expansion of local expenditure has been accompanied by very considerable changes in the sources of revenue from which

¹ The main complicating feature is the necessity for maintaining main roads, whose users are for the most part not local residents; this duty has, however, in 1937 been taken over in part by the central government.

it is met. These are summarized in Table 49. Local authorities have at their disposal three main sources of normal revenue: specific charges made for the services they supply; local rates; and grants made by the central government from the proceeds of national taxation. Rates are, of course, the 'residual source' from which all expenditure not otherwise covered must be met, but within certain limits the use made of each source can be affected by the policy of local authorities themselves. The importance of specific receipts depends partly upon the development of the services, particularly the 'trading services' proper, in which a specific charge can conveniently be made; partly upon the level at which the specific charges are actually fixed. The trading services, for instance, may be either run deliberately at a loss, or so as normally just to cover their costs, or so as to yield large profits which, in the case of the older services, may be applied to the relief of the rates.¹ Before the War both Oxford and Abingdon appear to have run their water-supply enterprises at a considerable profit; in 1913-14 Oxford transferred, in aid of the rates, £6,643 out of the £18,742 which constituted the revenue of the water undertaking. In recent years, however, profits on water have not been of much importance,² and the new rural district undertakings are all heavily subsidized from the rates; but markets, private road works, and general corporation estates all yield a considerable surplus above the annual expenditure on them, though not, it is often contended, so much as they might do under more enterprising management.

The charges for the supply of water inside the city were in 1935-6 very low—10d. in the £ of rateable value per annum for domestic supplies, and 9d. or 10d. per 1,000 gallons for trade purposes. To domestic consumers outside the city the charges amounted to nearly 1s. 2½d., and there was a similar difference of nearly 50 per cent. in the charges for measured supplies; in addition, the rural local authorities are called upon to contribute the capital cost of the mains. It seems to be questionable whether so large a discrimination between 'citizens' and 'neighbours' can be justified, especially when the area of supply outside the city is being increased, and the need for its rapid extension is so obvious. The electricity undertaking is not faced with

¹ The city electricity enterprise is, however, prevented, under the act of parliament which authorized it, from transferring profits to the general rate-fund; they must normally be used either to build up reserves or to reduce the charge for electricity.

² In 1935-6 the working expenses and loan charges of the Oxford water undertaking amounted to £46,803, against an income of £41,094, so that there was an actual loss. This was met, however, by drawing on reserve funds, not by subsidy from the rates. The Abingdon undertaking, however, showed receipts of £3,168 against expenditure of £2,146.

TABLE 49
Income of local authorities in the Survey Area, 1913-14 and 1935-6

	1		2		3		4		5		6	
	From rates		From Government grants		From fees, rents, and miscellaneous		From electricity and water charges		From other local authorities		Net total income (1+2+3+4)	
	1913-14	1935-6	1913-14	1935-6	1913-14	1935-6	1913-14	1935-6	1913-14	1935-6	1913-14	1935-6
Oxford C.B.	£ 80,652	308,272	£ 22,708	173,602	£ 32,032	200,640	£ 18,742	218,354	£ . .	7,875	£ 154,134	900,868
County Councils	25,769	92,222	24,272	145,302	3,770	20,432	..	..	410	..	53,811	257,956
Municipal Boroughs . .	5,550	7,470	90	12,304	4,455	9,925	1,232	3,168	712	312	11,327	32,867
Rural Districts (including Wheatley)	15,691	11,642	1,998	17,660	1,426	10,213	..	677	374	1,670	19,115	40,192
Boards of Guardians . .	23,176	..	2,176	..	4,739	..	..	..	8,482	..	30,091	..
Total for county areas* .	57,115	111,334	28,380	175,266	10,921	40,570	1,232	3,845	5,276	1,982	97,648	331,015
Total for Survey Area .	150,838	419,606	51,244	348,868	46,422	241,210	19,974	222,199	9,978	9,857	268,478	1,231,883

* Including expenditure of guardians in county areas.

the same problem, since it supplies no area outside the city, and not all that within. Its municipalization in 1931 was followed by successive and considerable reductions of the charges, which were in 1935-6 very much below those made by the private companies which control the outer area of the city and the rest of the Survey Area. So far, however, the attempts of the city corporation to buy out the private company have been frustrated.

A large part of government grants—most of those in the so-called 'Local Taxation Accounts' before the War, and the general exchequer grant to-day—are fixed in amount without reference to the amount or the direction of expenditure; but most of the others, of which education, main roads, and police grants are the most important, take the form of the payment of a percentage of approved expenditure by the local authority. If a local authority expands these services, it raises the relative importance of grants as a source of revenue, and imposes a smaller burden on the rates than if it expands others. Since the war there has been a great extension of these *ad hoc* grants as a means of encouraging local authorities to develop particular services, and this policy still prevails in several fields, despite the Local Government Act of 1929 which discontinued it in the case of the public health services. More services are affected, and the percentages are in general higher.

In 1913-14 some 24.7 per cent. of the receipts of local authorities in the Area came from specific charges, 56.2 per cent. from rates, and only 19.1 per cent. from grants; whereas in 1935-6 the proportions were 37.6, 34.1, and 28.3. The importance of specific charges and of government grants had thus largely increased, while that of rates had diminished. The growth of the importance of specific charges is due to the large extension of the trading or 'semi-trading' services. Receipts from water undertakings in Oxford and elsewhere have grown largely, even though the profit margins are smaller; electricity supply has been in part municipalized; and both in city and county there has been the development of housing and secondary education as services which contribute a large part of their own cost. In Oxford City 69 per cent. of the annual cost of the municipal housing estates is met from rents; while secondary education appears to cover from fees about one-fifth of its cost in the city, rather less than that (15 per cent.) in Oxfordshire, and about one-quarter in Berkshire. The shifting of the emphasis between rates and grants is, however, largely independent of the expansion of the trading services. It is mainly the result of two other changes—the greater use since the War of specific grants in aid of particular services, which has already been mentioned;

and the extension in 1923 and 1929 of the process of relieving certain kinds of property of the burden of rates, the loss to local authorities being made good by increase and reorganization of the general grants from the exchequer. (This is discussed in detail below.) The general effect of these changes has been startling. Whereas in 1913-14 the ratio of grants to rates for the whole of the Area was about one to three, in 1935-6 it was four to five; receipts from grants were nearly seven times as much as before the War, and receipts from rates less than three times as much. Thus a very large part of the cost of the extension of local activities has been borne by the national taxpayers. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that local residents are avoiding their share of the cost, for they are themselves among the national taxpayers; indeed, since Oxford is a rather wealthy district, it is probable that its inhabitants, taken as a whole, contribute more in taxes to finance local government throughout the country than they recover in grants to local authorities in their own area. It does mean, however, that there has been a large reshuffling of the incidence between individuals in the Survey Area; for, even before de-rating, the incidence of local rates in general fell much more heavily on persons with small incomes than does the incidence of the national taxes. If government grants had been suddenly discontinued, a rate of 11s. 7d. in the £ would have been necessary to meet the cost of local government in Oxford City in 1935-6. This must have been felt as a serious burden, but a rate of 7s. 4d. in the £, together with national taxation, was relatively easily borne.

But it is also clear that the relative importance of the different sources of revenue is very different in the city and county parts of the Area, and also, to a lesser extent, as between Berkshire and Oxfordshire. These differences were already noticeable before the War. In the county areas the only real trading service was the Abingdon water-supply, and in the non-trading services specific receipts were usually small. Specific receipts accounted for only 12.4 per cent. of total receipts in the counties as against 58.5 per cent. from rates and 29.1 per cent. from grants. The corresponding figures for Oxford City were 33.0, 52.3, and 14.7 per cent.; and the proportion of grants to rates was 28.2 per cent. in Oxford and 49.7 per cent. in the counties. Agricultural land had already been partially de-rated since 1896, and the main grant-aided services were of greater importance in the counties than in the city. But since the War the differences between the sources of revenue in city and counties have become much more pronounced. The relative importance of specific charges has

remained practically unchanged in the counties, but has risen from 33.0 to 46.5 per cent. in Oxford City, while the ratio of grants to rates has risen to 56.3 per cent. in Oxford City and 157.4 per cent. in the counties. In Oxfordshire, indeed, grants in 1935-6 provided nearly two and a half times as much as rates, though in Berkshire the proportions were nearly equal.

The great extension of these differences in the importance of rate-aid to various authorities is largely the effect of the de-rating of agricultural and industrial land under the Local Government Act, 1929, and of the working of the 'formula' for the distribution of general exchequer grants, which that act introduced. The general purpose of the reforms was to relieve industry and agriculture of a burdensome imposition, and at the same time, while protecting all local authorities from immediate financial loss, to secure a distribution of grants more adjusted to the relative needs of authorities for assistance. The general effect of the act was to increase considerably the amount of the exchequer contributions to local revenues. A pool was formed, consisting of the total amount of losses to local authorities through de-rating, calculated on the basis of the valuations and rate-poundages in force in 1928-9; of the amount of the previous general grants and of certain specific grants which were discontinued at the same time; and of certain additional moneys provided by parliament: in total, about £43.5 millions. This sum is to be distributed ultimately in proportion to the relative needs of the major areas of local government—county boroughs and administrative counties. 'Relative need' is measured by reference to 'weighted population': that is, actual population increased by weights to allow for the proportion of young children, for the lowness of rateable value per head, for the amount of unemployment, and, in the counties, for sparsity of population per mile of road. This formula was based originally on the estimated population for 1928, and began to apply to the distribution grants on April 1st, 1930, but its application was to be revised to meet changes in population and in weighting, first after three years—on April 1st, 1933—next after four years, in 1937, and finally every five years. But, in order to prevent too sudden a change in the amount received by any authority, it was provided, first, that no local authority should, during the first grant period, lose money as compared with its previous situation, and second, that for the first seven years only one-quarter of the pool, and for the next two periods of five only one-half and three-quarters respectively, should be distributed on the 'formula' basis, the rest going in proportion to each area's loss of grants and rates.

In the county boroughs the application of the formula, thus modified, completed the process of distribution; but in the counties the county apportionment had still to be divided between the county council and the municipal borough, urban, and rural district councils. This was done by allotting to each 'urban' council a grant at a fixed rate per head of its population—the rate in the first grant period was 12s. 6d., and in the second 12s. 1d.—and to each rural council a grant at one-fifth of that rate. There were also certain minor grants to councils which maintained maternity services or had suffered by de-rating a loss of special or parish rates. After these sums had been deducted, the rest of the county apportionment went to the county council.

Now this is a complicated but extremely interesting attempt to apply a new principle—assistance according to need—as a basis for the distribution of central government grants to local authorities. What were its effects in the Oxford district up to the end of the year 1935-6?

TABLE 50
Composition of the general exchequer formula

		Estimated actual population	Weighting increases for				Total 'formula' population	% of in- crease by weighting
			Children	Low rateable value	Unem- ployment	Sparsity of population		
Oxford C.B.	1928	73,930	29,572	4,037	..	..	107,839	45.5
	1932	81,260	22,753	7,817	3,198	..	115,028	41.6
	1936	90,140	23,436	3,192	872	..	127,339	30.2
Berkshire	1928	216,310	95,176	83,301	..	153,023	547,808	153.2
	1932	217,130	86,852	77,168	..	142,220	523,370	142.0
Oxfordshire	1928	124,670	67,322	67,938	..	159,385	419,860	236.8
	1932	130,720	57,517	72,027	..	156,158	416,422	218.2

In Oxford City the immediate loss of rates through de-rating was comparatively small,¹ for agricultural property was unimportant, and the amount of industrial and transport property was, in 1929, still small. But the subsequent loss was much greater, for the amount of partially de-rated industrial property has increased rapidly since 1929; and against this loss of potential revenue Oxford is, of course, not protected by the transitional arrangements for grant distribution in the first three grant periods. Moreover, the formula itself is unfavourable to Oxford, for the city is well above the average in the matter

¹ See Tables 50 and 51, where the composition of one formula and the amounts of the apportionments for Oxford County Borough, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire are given for the first and second grant periods.

TABLE 51
General exchequer grant allocations

	A. Losses by de-rating		% of A	Grant on basis of A		Grant on basis of formula	Supplementary grant	Deductions paid to minor L.A.s			Total deductions	Total general exchequer grant
	Of rates	Of grants		£	£			Capitation grants	Maternity grants	75 % of loss on special rates		
Oxford C.B. 1928	£	£										
	1932	11,171	75	34,391	15,555	15,555	1,306	..	..	..	..	51,252
	1936	34,637	75	34,356	15,850	15,850	1,306	..	..	..	..	51,512
Berks. C.C. 1928			50	22,904	31,305	31,305	1,045	..	..	..	..	55,254
			75	166,324	79,159	79,159	..	63,254	603	2,514	66,371	179,112
	1932	88,850	75	166,324	72,117	72,117	..	61,124	629	2,514	64,267	174,174
Oxon. C.C. 1928			50	247,665	247,665	247,665	..	*	*	*	*	*
			75	152,823	60,671	60,671	..	33,138	140	1,373	34,651	178,843
	1932	81,976	75	152,805	57,380	57,380	..	34,085	140	1,315	35,540	174,645
1936			50	217,089	217,089	217,089	..	*	*	*	*	*

* Not available

of rateable value per head of population, and below it in the proportion of children and unemployed. In addition, it has been increasing very rapidly in population, and therefore has lost, and is still losing, from the fixing of the annual grant for periods of three, four, and finally five years: there is always a lag between the growth of the population and the adjustment of the grant.¹ It seems to be tolerably certain that Oxford has been, financially, somewhat worse off under the new system than she would have been under the old. That is not, of course, necessarily a condemnation of it; for the de-rating of industry and transport can be defended as desirable on general grounds, and the new method of distributing grants has for its avowed object the assistance of financially weaker authorities at the expense, to some extent, of the stronger. But its effects on Oxford do appear to bring out two weaknesses in its application to an area of rapidly expanding population. First, there is the mechanical defect of the time-lag; and second, there is the defect of principle—that the formula contains no recognition that *change* of population is disproportionately expensive in local government. A weighting factor to allow explicitly for change, whether upwards or downwards, might with advantage be introduced into the formula; for it should be remembered that de-rating has narrowed the basis of the rating system, and if expenditure increases faster than rateable value and grants, it must be met from higher rate-poundages, bearing on fewer people, than would have been necessary before. The level of Oxford's rates did not in fact rise much between 1929-30 and 1935-6, chiefly because the trade depression encouraged an actual economy; but arrears of necessary expenditure are accumulating, and have made their effect very strongly felt since that time.²

In the counties the effect of the act of 1929 was very different. The loss of rates on agricultural land was considerable, especially in Oxfordshire, but it is fully covered by the transitional arrangements. The formula works in general strongly to the advantage of counties, as compared with county boroughs; and it is more favourable to Oxfordshire, where the sparsity of population factor has considerable importance, than to Berkshire, which contains considerable

¹ The loss due to this lag cannot be exactly calculated because we do not know how the 'weighting factors' would have moved had the formula been recalculated annually. But in the year 1932-3 when the actual population must have been about 86,000, Oxford was receiving grant on the basis of a population of only 73,930.

² The rate for 1929-30 in the 'Oxford Incorporation' was 7s. 8d.; in the parish of St. Giles and St. John, which contained rather more than half the rateable value, it was 7s. 1d. For the first year of the new system, 1930-1, the rate was 7s. 8d. over the whole city; it rose to 8s. 6d. in 1932-3, dropped back to 7s. 4d. by 1934-5, and then rose again to 8s. 4d. in 1936-7, to 8s. 10d. in 1937-8, and to 9s. 6d. in 1938-9.

urban areas.¹ But, as has been already explained, not all of the 'county apportionment' goes to the county council; it only gets what is left after the boroughs and county districts have received their capitation grants, at the rates appropriate to their urban or rural status. Now Berkshire has, relatively to its population, a much smaller county apportionment than Oxfordshire, and it has a much larger proportion of its population in urban districts. As a result, the general exchequer grant is a much less important source of revenue to its county council than it is to that of Oxfordshire. In fact, though the Berkshire County Council had to provide services for 70 per cent. more people than did Oxfordshire County Council, the receipts of the two from general exchequer grants were in 1935-6 nearly equal; and Oxfordshire was also relatively much better endowed with specific grants. It may, of course, be replied that urban areas cost the county council less than rural ones, since they provide for themselves some services, such as the upkeep of local streets, which in rural districts fall on the county funds; but even the total cost of these services is often less than the loss of grant to the county council occasioned by the urban status of minor authorities. Since, at least in the south of England, counties with large urban populations also tend to have a low formula weighting, it is possible that the councils of such counties are somewhat starved of grants under the formula system. This is not very important while only a small proportion of grants are distributed on this basis, but it may present a problem in the future, particularly if the scope of the formula system were to be extended to include the present *ad hoc* grants, as has often been suggested.

The working of the capitation grants to the county districts is also open to some criticism from the point of view of the districts themselves. First, as in the case of Oxford City, there is the mechanical defect of the time-lag between increase of population and increase of grant. This applies in all the rural districts of the Survey Area; and its effect appears to have been accentuated because the official (Registrar-General's) estimates have in the past certainly very much underestimated the actual growth of population in rural districts.² Second,

¹ The actual population was increased by grant distribution in the second grant period by 218 per cent. for Oxfordshire and 141 per cent. for Berkshire. The maximum addition was 347 per cent. for Cumberland; and the minimum was 53 per cent. for Surrey. In the first grant period the additions had been rather larger—237 per cent. for Oxfordshire, and 153 per cent. for Berkshire. Oxfordshire stood a little above the mean among the counties, Berkshire considerably below it.

² Official methods of estimating inter-censal changes in population are at present apparently being improved; certainly more accurate results are necessary if the exchequer grants are to be fairly distributed.

it may be argued that the difference in the amount of the *per capita* grant in an urban and a rural area is inequitably great where, as around Oxford, the rural districts are experiencing rapid suburbanization and are compelled to provide—initially at a much higher cost per head—many of the services necessary in an urban area. Moreover, the fact that the county council will lose heavily in grant if a rural district secures urban status may lead to undue postponement of such a change. There seems to be a strong case for a modification of the *per capita* basis of distribution of grants to county districts. It might be possible to allow the population of those parishes in a rural district where population exceeds a certain density to count for grant on a higher *per capita* basis;¹ or alternatively, to pay grant at a higher rate on the increase of population in each district during the last one or two grant periods. Either of these expedients would be automatic in operation, would secure a fairer adjustment of grant payments to need, and would remove the undesirable conflict of interest between county and district over the question of urban status.

The principle which underlies general grants from the exchequer is that of equalizing the burdens of local expenditures by spreading them over a body of contributors—the national taxpayers—wider than the immediate beneficiaries. The same principle of spreading the burden has also been increasingly applied between different parts of the Area in the form of equalization of rates. The extension of the city boundary in 1929 had this effect, in so far as the costs of government in the old city and the newly annexed areas had been different. A single general rate of 5s. 11d. in the £ took the place of the various totals of county, district, and parish rates on the outskirts of the city. The Local Government Act of 1929 had similar effects when it came into force in the following year. It abolished the poor law guardians, and transferred their functions to the major authorities, so that the poor rate became a charge over the whole county or county borough. There thus disappeared the last vestige of differential rating within the city of Oxford itself, which had resulted from the fact that the city contained parts of no less than three poor law unions. The act also transferred the burden of the secondary roads from each separate rural district to the counties; it provided machinery by which the county councils could, if they saw fit, make grants to rural districts

¹ If 1·0 persons per acre were to be taken as the density limit, the population of such parishes in the Survey Area would have been, on April 1st, 1937, about 10,400 out of a total 'rural' population of 40,400. If grant were to be paid on these people at a rate of 7s. 9d. instead of 2s. 5d., the gain in general exchequer grant to the rural district councils would be about £2,250 a year.

in aid of works of sewerage and water-supply; and it also made it easier for rural districts themselves to bear part of the costs of such schemes for particular parishes by making them a district charge. Moreover, under the subsequent Review Orders the rural districts were reduced in number and enlarged in size; and, in Oxfordshire at any rate, one of the considerations which determined the new boundaries seems to have been the idea of marrying purely agricultural areas of low rateable value with an expanding suburb. The result has certainly been a considerable equalization of rate-poundages in the different parts of the Area.

In 1913-14 rates at no less than four different levels were levied in Oxford City itself, ranging from 4s. 5½d. in the parish of St. Giles to 5s. 3d. in Binsey. In Oxfordshire the rates levied by rural districts, even for general purposes only, ranged from 10d. in Culham rural district to 1s. 7d. in Witney; and those by boards of guardians from 6d. in Headington Union to 1s. 3½d. in Witney. In addition there were wide differences in special and parish rates. The rates raised by the county councils were 2s. 5¾d. in Berkshire and 2s. 2¼d. in Oxfordshire. Abingdon raised a district rate of 4s., Woodstock one of 1s. 7½d., and Wheatley one of 3s. The highest level of general rates in the Area was thus at Abingdon (7s. 2¾d.); in the rural districts property in Witney paid 5s. 0¾d., in Headington only 3s. 8¼d. There is no reason to believe that the standards of valuation were identical in the various districts, so that the differences in rate-poundages may exaggerate, or, more probably, actually understate, the differences in the real burden of rates on similar properties. In 1935-6, however, the general levels were higher, but the differences were much smaller. The county rates, for general and special county purposes, were 7s. 8½d. in Berkshire and 8s. 4d. in Oxfordshire; Abingdon raised a borough rate of 2s. 9d., and Woodstock one of 2s. Rural district rates for general district purposes in the five rural districts were practically identical.¹ When allowance has been made for special and parish rates, and also for special parish credits, it appears that the extreme variation in total rates paid in different rural parishes was only from a minimum of 8s. 2d., in most of the agricultural parishes in Berkshire, to a maximum of 11s. 3d. in Marston; and only six parishes and a part of a seventh paid rates of

¹ Bullington 5d.; Witney 6d.; Ploughley 5d. to 6d.; Chipping Norton 6d.; Abingdon 5½d. In Ploughley Rural District there was no uniform rate for general district purposes, because the proceeds of the general exchequer grant were credited separately to each parish, instead of being spread evenly over the whole, as was the practice in the other districts. Thus in Islip the rate actually levied was 8s. 3d.—less than that asked by the county alone.

10s. in the £ or over.¹ In Abingdon Municipal Borough the total rate levied was 10s. 6d., and in Woodstock 10s. 4d. In the city of Oxford the rate was only 7s. 4d., and therefore substantially below that in even the lowest rated of the 'rural' parishes. It is not certain, however, that the rate-burden was really so much less in the city, for there is a strong suggestion that the standard of valuation was higher there than in the counties, especially for properties in the lower ranges.

But when government grants, the trading services, and devices for rate-equalization have done their best—or worst—it still remains true that the total amount of rateable property must be the main basis of local finance. The rateable value of the city of Oxford has been rising rapidly since the check imposed by the de-rating act, though hardly faster than its population. In some of the rural districts the increase has been still greater; in the Abingdon Rural District, for instance, it was as much as 52 per cent. between March 1930 and December 1936. An investigation of the composition and distribution of rateable value in the Survey Area brings out three striking features. First comes the high level of rateable value per head in Oxford itself, £9 5s.; in this the city is surpassed by only a mere handful of British county boroughs.² Second come the big contrasts between the different county districts—the very low figures of £3 5s. for Witney Rural District and of £3 6s. for Woodstock Municipal Borough, against the high level of £6 17s. in the Abingdon Rural District. The differences in the rural districts are clearly due mostly to the differing extent and character of recent suburban development, whereas Woodstock and, to a lesser degree, Abingdon each have a core of old houses which are conventionally, and probably actually, of low annual value. Third, if we turn our attention to

¹ These were: Marston 11s. 3d., Garsington 11s., Wheatley 10s. 9d., Littlemore 10s. 8d., Holton 10s. 4d., Kidlington 10s., and Eynsham (lighting area) 10s. All of these, except Holton, had been partially suburbanized. In some of them, and also in some other parishes with lower rates which were supplied by the city undertaking, there was also a specific water rate of 1s. 3d. in the £ on properties connected to the mains. Here again, however, the situation is rapidly changing. The unavoidable problem of the provision of urban services in administratively rural areas was only beginning to be tackled in 1935-6, and it has become much more pressing since then. To take an example at random: in the autumn of 1937, the Ploughley Rural District Council was considering a sewerage scheme for the parish of Kidlington, of which the capital cost was to be £38,000, involving a possible annual rate-charge of 5s. 3d. in the £. It should be noticed that these special charges on area works are much above those in the city. Not only is the special rate for dwelling-houses 1s. 3d. against 10d., but in the rural areas the local authority is also compelled to bear the interest charges on the cost of mains.

² The 'official' figure for Oxford's rateable value per head in 1934-5 was £9 12s. This was exceeded by six county boroughs, all of them coastal holiday resorts.

the distribution of residential property between the different categories of rateable value, we must be struck by the enormous discrepancies between the proportions of houses in the lowest class—less than £5 per annum—in Oxford City on the one side, and in the municipal boroughs and rural districts on the other. It is, of course, certainly true that in the agricultural villages the standard of housing is often very low indeed; and that even where it is not, the letting value of comparable houses is lower than in the city. But even the most suburbanized of the rural districts—Abingdon—had 38 per cent. of its dwelling-houses in the lowest class; and the borough of Abingdon had 23 per cent. against a mere 3 per cent. in Oxford itself. This must suggest strongly that the standards of assessment are really considerably lower in the counties than in the city. If this is true, it is important for several reasons. It vitiates comparisons of the ‘burden of local taxation’ which are based on a comparison of rate-poundages; it must produce complications in those cases where the charge made by the city for water-supply or sewage disposal is based on the rateable value of houses connected to the mains; and it must introduce an element of inequity into the distribution of the general exchequer grant, since the ‘formula’, as we have already seen, contains a weighting for lowness of rateable value per head of population. It may be hoped that the new valuation list, which was due to come into force over most of the Area in April 1938, but which has now been postponed until 1941, will correct some of these anomalies.

Expenditure and income on capital account.

Expenditure on capital account is usually made in order to provide permanent improvements in the ‘public capital’ of the community. It is therefore natural that in a district where population is growing rapidly such expenditure should be larger than elsewhere. In 1935–6 the Oxford Corporation spent in this way £340,147, as against a mere £8,000 in 1913–14: this was about £3 14s. per head, against an average for all county boroughs (in 1934–5) of only about £2 10s. Capital expenditure is, however, more variable from year to year, both in total amount and in its distribution between the various services, than is expenditure on current account; and it is therefore worth while to examine as a whole the record for the six years 1930–6, which is summarized in Table 52. The total amounts to nearly £2,700,000; but it should be observed that this total includes two highly abnormal items—a sum of nearly £500,000 for the original purchase of the electricity undertaking, and a sum of £182,000 whic.

represented the 'purchase price' of boundary extension in the form of debt taken over from other local authorities. The net expenditure on the purchase of land and on development in the Survey Area was thus rather over £2,000,000 in six years, giving an annual average of £340,000. Of the net total, about one-tenth was spent on the acquisition of land and already existing buildings; about four-tenths on the construction of new buildings; about 35 per cent. on road-works, sewers, and water and electricity mains; 2½ per cent. on advances to borrowers for the purchase of houses, and the remaining 12½ per cent. on machinery, furniture, and equipment. These figures give some picture of the character of the final demand on economic resources made by the public development of Oxford.

TABLE 52

Capital expenditure by Oxford County Borough and Berkshire and Oxfordshire County Councils, from 1930-1 to 1935-6

Year	Oxford C.B.	Berkshire C.C.		Oxfordshire C.C.	
		Total expenditure	Expenditure in Survey Area	Total expenditure	Expenditure in Survey Area
	£	£	£	£	£
1930-1	302,808	99,613	2,196	57,293	2,034
1931-2	766,259	135,880	38,934	30,947	997
1932-3	441,763	60,667	20,651	14,839	765
1933-4	355,272	35,423	3,997	35,472	1,227
1934-5	374,861	32,764	1,690	17,993	443
1935-6	340,147	38,784	276	71,553	23,387
Total	2,581,110	403,131	67,744	228,097	28,856

The relative importance of the various services is shown in Table 53. Electricity, housing, and water-supply were by far the most expensive; education, public health, and corporation estates account for smaller but still considerable sums. Most of the expenditure can be directly related to the physical growth of the city. This made necessary a new waterworks (which incidentally supplies a considerable area outside the city boundary), and large extensions of water, electricity, and sewage mains; and it also accounts for much of the heavy expenditure on housing and education, though this latter is perhaps affected almost as much by the shift of population out of the centre of the city as by its actual increase. Two-thirds of the outlay on roads and lighting was the result of the building of the northern by-pass, which had cost £292,000 to the end of 1935-6, and was still not quite complete. Part of this road lies outside the boundaries of the city, and the Oxfordshire County Council

contributed both to the cost and the organization of the work; but financial control was exercised by the city, and the total cost is given under one heading here. Much of the surprisingly heavy expenditure on corporation estates represented purchases of land to provide for the future development of the city's services, particularly for open spaces and recreation.

TABLE 53

Capital expenditure by Oxford County Borough and Oxfordshire and Berkshire County Councils, from 1930-1 to 1935-6, in Survey Area.
Distribution by services

<i>Service</i>	<i>Oxford C.B.</i>		<i>Berkshire C.C.</i>		<i>Oxfordshire C.C.</i>	
	£	%	£	%	£	%
Education	122,301	4.6	253	0.4	716	2.6
Public Health and Mental Health	91,727	3.6	..	..	..	..
Public Assistance	2,612	0.1	1,652	2.4	1,077	3.7
Housing	440,499	17.1	..	..	..	..
Small Dwellings Acquisition . .	57,595	2.2	..	..	..	..
Police and Fire Brigade . . .	6,701	0.3	2,697	4.0	..	..
Roads and Lighting	378,589	14.7	62,876	92.8	27,063	93.7
General Administration . . .	28,988	1.1	..	..	..	..
Financial Adjustments on Boundary Extension	182,440	7.1	..	..	..	..
Electricity	780,884	30.3	..	..	..	..
Water-supply	388,328	15.0	..	..	..	..
Aerodrome	19,775	0.8	..	..	..	..
Markets	18,707	0.7	..	..	..	..
Cemeteries	499	..	..	..	..	..
Corporation Estates, and Allotments and Smallholdings .	61,465	2.4	266	0.4	..	..
Total	2,581,110	100.0	67,744	100.0	28,856	100.0

The annual total of capital expenditure had varied less than might have been expected, and did not show very much of the undesirable expansion in times of prosperity and decline in depression which is characteristic of local capital expenditure in the country as a whole. This was, however, due to fortunate accident rather than to design. Work on the new waterworks, on the northern by-pass, and on the adaptation of the electricity supply had already begun before the national 'economy campaign' of 1932 was launched, and it was not discontinued or much delayed. The outlay on wages and salaries and materials for these works must have had quite an appreciable effect in maintaining employment and incomes in the Area through the worst years of the trade depression.¹ In other directions the

¹ The northern by-pass scheme alone involved the payment of £70,000 in direct wages and salaries during the three worst years, 1931-3.

economy campaign undoubtedly caused the accumulation of arrears of necessary works; and since that time the pressure of work in the city departments, together with the apparently inevitable delays involved in getting ministerial consent for loans, has made it very difficult to work them off. This is indicated very clearly by the gaps between the capital expenditure authorized by council and estimated for, and that actually made in any year. In the year 1935-6, for instance, provision was made for a capital expenditure of about £526,000, while only £340,000 was actually spent. Until recently there has been no person or committee in the city council responsible for producing any co-ordinated plan for capital development over a number of years, and this has certainly accounted in part for the confusion and delay which has occurred. There is now a special 'republic works' committee, but it is too early yet to judge its efficacy.

Capital expenditure by the county councils has been on a much smaller scale, and in the Survey Area itself has been almost confined to major road improvements, such as the southern by-pass and the reconstruction of the Abingdon and Culham bridges, in Berkshire, and of the canal and railway crossings on the Banbury and Woodstock roads, in Oxfordshire. The county councils had, up to 1936, managed to avoid heavy capital expenditures on schools and health services for the rapidly growing 'urban fringe' by arrangements for the use by 'county' residents of the facilities provided by the city; but it is clear that there are limits to the extensions of such co-operation, and that heavy outlay will soon have to be incurred by the county councils themselves. Capital expenditure by the county district authorities was considerably greater than that by the county councils, but owing to boundary changes and other complications, comparable figures could not be obtained for the whole six years. The expenditure in 1935-6 is summarized in Table 54.

TABLE 54

Capital expenditure by municipal boroughs and rural districts, 1935-6

	<i>Abingdon M.B.</i>	<i>Woodstock M.B.</i>	<i>Abingdon R.D.</i>	<i>Bullingdon R.D.</i>	<i>Ploughley R.D.</i>	<i>Witney R.D.</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Hospitals	356	..	..	..	..	453	809	1.0
Sewerage	..	..	52	..	45	..	97	0.1
Housing	24,760	289	9,282	5,562	2,205	3,396	45,494	53.8
Offices	..	..	1,939	..	..	..	1,939	2.3
Water-supply	1,666	291	14,000	..	1,717	18,496	36,170	42.8
Total	26,782	580	25,273	5,562	3,967	22,345	84,509	100.0

It will be seen that the expenditure of the boroughs of Abingdon and Woodstock amounted to £27,362, mostly for housing purposes, and that of the four rural districts (including expenditure on works outside the Survey Area) to £57,147, in which water-supply and housing bulked largest.¹

In their housing expenditure the district authorities have been carrying out what is in effect a national programme; most of the loan charges are covered either by the rents charged or by grants from the central government, and the burden on the district rate-payers is small. But the rural district councils are also the responsible authorities for the provision of main water-supply and sewerage, when these come to be needed by particular parishes in the district; and the exercise of their functions in this matter raises various controversial matters which may well be dealt with at this point. These services are usually only acutely needed by the suburbanized parishes, and it therefore at first sight seems natural that both the loan charges and the running costs should be met by the levy of special rates on the parishes concerned. This view is, however, open to criticism. The initial outlay must usually be very large, and to cover the annual charges a very heavy special rate may be necessary in a parish which is not yet fully built-up. To take an example at random: in the summer of 1937 the Ploughley Rural District Council was considering a sewerage scheme for the parish of Kidlington, which was likely to cost £38,000, and to involve a rate of 5s. 3d. in the pound over the parish, in order to cover the annual charges. Charges of this magnitude will be resented and sometimes formally opposed by parishioners, who are not to-day, as they once were in residential suburbs, for the most part wealthy people, and there is danger of a dilemma: either the service will not be provided until it is too late for it to be economically planned, or else the high rate will check that further building which would spread the burden more widely and make it tolerable. Moreover, it is not clear that the present parishioners are the only interested parties. Other people may suffer if the sewerage or water-supply of a particular parish is defective; adjoining parishes, which may later on be developed, are interested in seeing that the general layout is efficient and capable of extension; and both the rural district and the whole county are financially affected by anything which encourages—or checks—the increase of population and rateable value in any part of their area. This point is particularly important in view of the methods of

¹ The water-supply scheme of the Witney Rural District hardly served the parishes in the Survey Area.

distributing the general exchequer grant, which have been discussed above. A case can be made out for making at least a part of the costs of such services a district or even a county charge. If this were done the burden would be spread, as it would be quite naturally and without controversy in the city, over persons other than the immediate beneficiaries.¹

Both rural district and county councils have powers to do this if they think fit, and in recent years they have begun to use them in the Survey Area.² All the rural councils have either made or are considering making some grant out of the general rate to assist water-supply or sewerage schemes. In the case of a sewerage scheme in the Bullingdon District, the rural district council contributed 40 per cent. of the total cost out of the general rate, the county council contributed 36 per cent., leaving the parish to shoulder 24 per cent. of the burden. A water-supply scheme in the Ploughley District was paid for in the approximate proportions of one-quarter by the rural district as a whole, one-quarter by the county, and one-half by the parish. The annual cost of the installation and running of a sewerage scheme prepared for Islip will probably be borne as to 17 per cent. each by the county council and the rural district council, the rest falling on that parish. On the whole, such contribution to special expenses of parishes does not seem to be very common, but we understand that Berkshire County Council uses its power of contributing to encourage the wider spreading of charges by making its grants dependent upon, and proportionate to, grants by the rural district council. Three of our rural district councils state that they have no regular policy in this matter, but consider each application by a parish on its merits; Bullingdon informs us that its general policy is to contribute from the general rate all costs of a scheme in excess of a shilling rate upon the parish concerned—of course, even this may be a somewhat heavy burden for some parishes to meet. Though sometimes parishes apply for assistance and are refused, one case has occurred in which the rural district council has offered to pay for a water-supply out of

¹ The Abingdon Rural District Council have based a claim for county assistance for a sewerage scheme to some parts of four suburbanized parishes on the contention that the increase of population there leads to an increase of revenue from general rates and exchequer grant, and that five-sixths of this increase accrues to the county council and only one-sixth to the district. They therefore argue that the cost of such schemes, which are associated with an increase of population, should be regarded by both county and district authorities as remunerative investments. After prolonged negotiation, it has been agreed that county and rural district shall share equally the burden of the annual loan charges, leaving the running costs to be met from a special rate on the four parishes.

² For the collection and editing of the particulars which follow, the author is indebted to Mr. C. W. H. Sutton.

the general rate and this has been opposed by the parish concerned. There are some cases at the present time over which a lively controversy is raging.

The fairness of the general principle that 'all should pay for some', and of any particular application of it, is a matter of personal opinion. But it does appear to be certain that, in the absence of some such policy, the development of many public services in the suburban fringe must occur too late and in too piecemeal a fashion; the result must be a costly and insanitary legacy to the future. The low figures of capital expenditure in these directions which had been actually made by the end of 1935-6 make it clear that undesirable delay had in fact already occurred.

Capital expenditure may be financed from several different sources—by transfers from revenue account, by grants from the central government or from some other local authority, from the proceeds of the sale of other capital assets, or, finally, by fresh borrowing. Receipts from other capital assets naturally fluctuate from year to year; the only important normal receipts under this heading come from the repayment by individuals of loans made to them for the purchase of houses. Capital grants from the government are only important in the case of special road works; 82 per cent. of the cost of the northern by-pass, for instance, was met by direct grant from the Ministry of Transport. Other capital expenditure may, of course, be in effect grant-aided, in so far as a percentage of the annual interest and sinking-fund charges is met by grants, as in the case of school buildings; but the initial capital liability is still assumed by the local authority. Finance from current revenue has had very little importance as far as the rate-fund services are concerned.¹ In Oxford the practice is to resort to borrowing in most cases wherever the government department concerned will permit it. The cost of small capital works is, however, sometimes met from revenue; and there is in most years a certain amount of 'special expenditure', which is really of a capital nature, but which is financed from current revenue without any formal transfer to capital account. The city has also taken powers under a local act to establish a lands fund and a reserve fund, and to raise a rate of not more than 4*d.* in the £ in any year to provide for them; but the power has not, in fact, been very much used. The trading services, however, deliberately make provision for covering a part of their capital costs from current revenue.² Whether

¹ Transfers from revenue amounted in 1935-6 to £5,496 for the rate-fund services, out of the total capital receipts of £259,000.

² £29,164 out of £172,000 capital receipts came from this source in 1935-6.

the policy of meeting the costs of financially unproductive works almost entirely by borrowing is desirable is a matter of controversy,

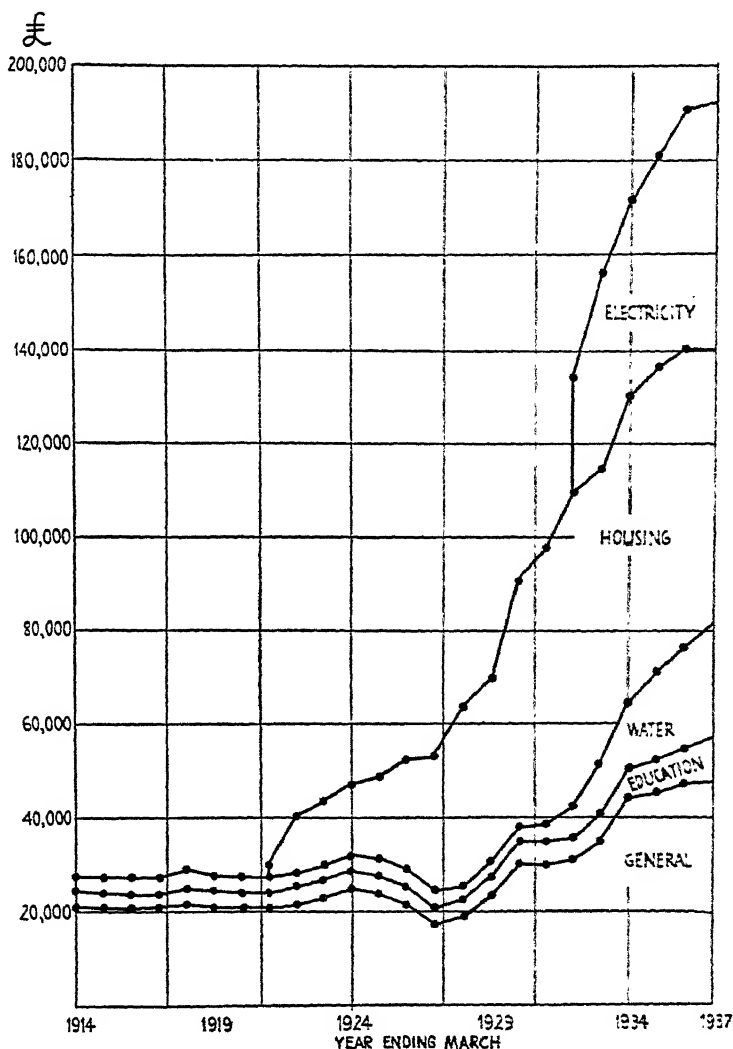


FIG. 39. Growth of Loan Charges, Oxford C.B., 1914-37.

but it may, perhaps, be more easily defended in the case of a rapidly growing town than in one which is stationary or declining in population. It has, of course, the effect of increasing the final cost to the city by the amount of the annual interest charges until the loan is paid off; in 1935-6 such interest charges amounted to nearly

£134,000, or 15 per cent. of total current expenditure. When capital expenditure is irregular from year to year, as it was before the War, and still is in small towns, it is clearly undesirable that the level of rates should be moved rapidly up and down in order to meet the expenditure without resort to borrowing, but where it is clear that at least a considerable minimum outlay must be made every year, there is much to be said for meeting that minimum from current revenue in years of normal economic prosperity. It is certainly undesirable that fresh debt should be continuously incurred faster than the combined rate at which old debt is being paid off and the rateable value of the city is increasing; for in that case there will be a tendency to cumulative increase in the level of rates from year to year. This appears to have been happening in Oxford. The total loan charges on services which are not financially productive (i.e. the general rate-fund services, education, and public assistance) increased from £34,836 in 1929-30 to £57,931 in 1936-7 (60 per cent.), while the rateable value of the city grew by only 23.4 per cent.;¹ the increase in loan charges would have been even greater but for the fall in interest rates, which has permitted recent borrowings to be made more cheaply, and has also allowed of the conversion of some of the earlier debt. The net outstanding indebtedness of the city rose from £1,461,277 in 1930 to £2,915,925 in 1936. Most of this capital expenditure is certainly unavoidable; the remedy seems to be a more determined attempt to secure a payment of part of it from revenue at the cost of an initially higher, but later more stable, level of rates.

The control of financial policy.

No English local authority is entirely master of its fate in financial matters; its council is not a sovereign body and its actions are subject to a certain measure of control from without. In the first place, its activities are limited by the general law of the land. No authority may spend money except for purposes which have been authorized by a general or a local act of parliament. This limitation upon initiative is enforced, for the most part, by the process of audit of accounts. All the expenditure of county and district councils, and much of that of borough councils, must pass the scrutiny of the district auditor; it is the duty of that official to disallow any illegal expenditure, and to cause it to be surcharged to those members of the council who, by their votes, authorized it to be made. Some expenditure in boroughs is exempt from this official scrutiny; but there, too, there

¹ About half of the increase of loan charges for education, which amounted to £3,174, was met by increase of substantive grant from the Board of Education, and was therefore not a charge on the rates.

are less direct checks upon the making of any expenditure not expressly authorized by law.¹ On the other hand, in many matters of poor relief, education, and public health the law is mandatory; the local authority must provide the service, and meet part, if not all, of its cost.

Secondly, all local authorities are subject to a great deal of administrative control from various departments of the central government. As far as expenditure on current account is concerned, this is exercised mainly through the power to make or to withhold grants-in-aid. In those services, such as education, housing, police, and roads, for which specific grants are made, it is distinctly unusual for a council to make expenditure for which the appropriate minister refuses grant-aid, even though it is in theory open to the council to place the whole cost on the rates. There is no doubt at all that considerations of 'eligibility for grant' weigh heavily in decisions, not only about any particular scheme of development, but also in determining the general directions in which local activity shall be extended. No grant is equal to 100 per cent. of expenditure.² A local authority cannot get 'something for nothing', but the lure of 'something for a little' is very difficult to resist when the relative merits of different plans for expenditure are under discussion. In the services which are not directly grant-aided, these considerations, of course, do not arise; but the Minister of Health possesses power under the Local Government Act, 1929, to withhold part or all of the general exchequer grant from any authority which, in his opinion, is either extravagant in its expenditure, or is not maintaining a reasonable minimum standard of efficiency in any service. This power does not appear ever to have been formally exercised, but there is no reason to doubt that hints that it might be exercised are occasionally given, and must carry much weight. In the matter of capital expenditure, central control is even more important, for most capital expenditure is financed by loan, and the act of borrowing requires, in almost every case, ministerial consent. This consent is not given without minute investigation, which may, even where there is no opposition to the proposed expenditure, take the form of a public inquiry presided over by an inspector; it is abundantly clear that attention is paid, not only to the merits of the scheme in question, but also to its relation to other parts of a local authority's activities and to matters of national policy.

¹ For a fuller account of this matter, see Hart, *Introduction to the Law of Local Government and Administration*, 1934, pp. 171, 181-4.

² The only exceptions to this statement are one or two minor services, such as collection of the motor licence duties, in which the local authority acts simply as the agent of the central government.

A recent local example may be adduced. The city housing committee, in its wisdom, decided that the most pressing need in Oxford was for the building of houses to be let at economic rents to persons who, for want of suitable accommodation, were living in lodgings or in places outside the city and far distant from their work; and it presented appropriate plans to the Minister of Health. The minister, however, was understood to reply that, whatever might be the particular needs of Oxford, the national programme was to concentrate on slum clearance, and that no consent would be given to other plans until this had been completed. No doubt, in the majority of cases, this system of detailed control over capital expenditure works to the eventual good both of local residents and of the nation. But one of its least desirable features is the delay which it involves, both in the making of plans and in the final acceptance of tenders for capital works; this delay may often cause considerable financial loss, especially at times when construction costs are rising. In a recent case known to the writer, the local authority provisionally accepted a tender for a building, subject to the consent of the minister to the necessary loan; but subsequent correspondence with the Minister of Health, together with a local inquiry, elicited neither opposition nor constructive criticism, but was prolonged for nearly four months before the requisite consent was received. There is an urgent need to evolve a system of combining a general control over policy from the centre, with greater speed and freedom to the authority in matters of detail. This must become particularly clear if the onset of a trade depression should at any time make desirable a rapid acceleration of capital works by local authorities.

Subject to these legal and administrative checks, a council controls its own financial policy. The duty of defining and clarifying this lies everywhere with a finance committee, advised by the treasurer and his permanent staff, though, of course, the ultimate decision upon any matter rests with the whole council. In the city of Oxford the finance committee is engaged throughout the year in passing the accounts, in supervising the expenditure of the other committees of the council, and in examining proposals for capital expenditure made by the various committees and usually referred to it by council. Until the end of 1937, in its capacity as staffs committee, it also dealt with questions of superannuation, promotion, and new appointments of permanent staff. Its main opportunity to mould financial policy comes, however, from its duty of considering and recommending to council every March the estimates of expenditure by each committee during the coming financial year.

The procedure for the preparation of estimates, as laid down in the standing orders, is rather lengthy. It begins, significantly enough, just after the council elections in November, when members are presumably most free from the pressure of their constituents. At that time committees are supposed to consider their probable future expenditure during the financial year which will begin in the following April; and, if this will involve expenditure beyond the normal, whether on capital or income account, they must submit their programme to council for approval in principle not later than January. In so far as this approval is obtained, detailed estimates of all expenditure by each committee are then prepared, and submitted to the finance committee, which considers them as a whole and makes such reductions and alterations as it thinks practicable and necessary. A special meeting of the council is held, usually early in April, to consider these estimates in the light of the resources which will be available to meet them; after they have been passed or amended, the level of rates for the year is in effect determined, and the subsequent meeting to 'make a rate' usually does no more than provide an opportunity for publicity. No committee may spend money not provided for in the estimates without first obtaining the approval of the finance committee and of council to a 'supplementary estimate'. This approval is, as a rule, not lightly given.¹ Another safeguard against over-spending is provided by the rule that every committee must formally review its expenditure at the half-year. The finance committee can also recommend the disapproval or postponement of capital expenditure, even when this has been provided for in the estimates.

This system appears to provide numerous guarantees of financial care and wisdom, and there is no reason to doubt but that these results are usually attained. Certain possible weaknesses may, however, be pointed out. The first may arise from the composition of the finance committee itself. It is naturally regarded as one of the most important committees of the council, and its twelve members have been in the past usually distinguished for their weight and seniority. This means, however, that most of them are usually also chairmen of one or more of the 'spending committees', and their allegiance can hardly fail to be divided between the god of economy and the devil of expenditure. There exists in the council no person or body corresponding to the Treasury in the national financial system, whose undivided duty it is to be the 'watch-dog of economy', and who can

¹ In 1935-6 'actual' exceeded 'estimated' expenditure in total by £5,019. There were 'supplementary estimates' for expenditure, usually of a capital nature, to the amount of £11,484.

mediate impartially between conflicting claims upon the public purse. The second weakness, which perhaps has a parallel in national affairs, is the result of the essentially annual basis of the city's finance. The finance committee only secures a general conspectus of expenditure once a year, when it deals with the estimates, and its attention at that time is concentrated largely on the problem of minimizing the immediate increase, or of securing an immediate decrease, in the level of rates. It has no specific duty to plan ahead the capital programme of the city, so as to secure smoothness and regularity of execution, nor has it much incentive to finance it in such a way as to stabilize the level of rates over a number of years. Moreover, since the full burden of interest, sinking fund, and maintenance charges on capital works only become apparent two years after the decision to incur them is taken, it is very difficult for the finance committee to make ordinary members of council fully conscious of the character of their commitments, or even itself to secure that consciousness. Some of the effects of these weaknesses have already been mentioned.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, we may perhaps briefly summarize the present financial position in the Survey Area.

The activities of local authorities, and consequently their expenditure, are growing faster than they have ever grown before. The need for most of these activities is undisputed, and there is every indication that it will grow greater, rather than less, in the immediate future. They are activities characteristic of a prosperous and growing district; the emphasis is on preservation of amenities, control and development of housing estates, schools and civic buildings, and on the rendering of services which, directly or indirectly, are likely to pay for themselves in the long run. Problems connected with the direct relief of poverty do not at present bulk largely or cause any serious drain on resources. The average level of income, both amongst wage-earners and members of other groups, is certainly above that in most parts of Great Britain, and there is no real lack of resources wherewith to finance the expansion of local government. The ratio of rateable value to population is relatively high; and in 1935-6 Oxford was still among the half-dozen lowest-rated county boroughs in the kingdom.

Nevertheless, the Area has its own special financial problems. The most general of these is that of growth—the need for planning the extension of local institutions on a scale somewhat larger than that required by the present population. The immediate consequent

increase in cost is considerable, and there is some real risk involved because, as is indicated in other chapters of this Survey, the economic foundations of Oxford's rapid growth are at present somewhat narrow. In any case, it is psychologically difficult to break away from the 'small town outlook' in financial matters. Further, in meeting the costs of growth, Oxford is forced to rely rather disproportionately on her own immediate resources; the system of distribution of assistance from the central government not only ignores her special needs, but even discriminates rather strongly against them.

The second problem is that which emerges from the lack of financial unity within the growing district. The costs of growth are absolutely highest on the fringe of urbanization, while it is just there that the resources from which to finance them are usually least. The division of authority between city, counties, and rural districts still effectually prevents not only the pooling of financial resources, but even the most efficient use of the existing organization and equipment. These problems are not inherently insoluble; and, even within the present framework of authorities, a co-operative solution comes with time. But while time passes, the layout and character of the 'suburban fringe' becomes moulded and set, and the shape of the mould is in many respects not the most convenient for its inhabitants or the most economical from the point of view of local government. The bones of a modern urban community are its roads, its drains, its water-mains, its parks and open spaces; the most pressing problem of local finance is to find the means to insert them before, and not after, the flesh has grown.

CHAPTER XI

LAW AND ORDER

IN the discussion which follows of the machinery functioning in the Survey Area for the maintenance of law and order it has been necessary to limit our remarks by a somewhat arbitrary standard. This aspect of government, as has already been pointed out,¹ is delicately placed as between the authorities of central and local government. It is clear, for instance, that the High Court of Justice, since it is a court of first instance for cases of a certain kind, is as directly a part of the machinery for the maintenance of justice in Oxford as is the county court in other cases which may differ in degree only, and not necessarily in kind, from those heard in the High Court. Yet the county court sits in a physical sense within the Survey Area, and it is on this basis that we have selected for discussion the courts which follow.

Any account of the local machinery of law and order must include some discussion not only of the courts but also of the instruments at the disposal of the courts for the enforcement of their decisions—that is to say, of the police system and the probation system as they function locally, and of the local prison. But at many points the statutory organizations are interlocked with voluntary organizations which assist and amplify the work of the courts. It is hardly possible, for instance, to talk of the legal aid available for the poor in the courts under the Poor Persons Procedure Act without discussing also the provision of free legal advice which is part of a Poor Man's Lawyer system. Therefore, although an account of voluntary organizations generally is reserved for a later volume of the Survey, it has not been possible to exclude here some account of those connected with the administration of the law.

Moreover, a very one-sided picture will be given of the local organizations if no attention is paid to the criminal whose activities the system exists to control. Having regard, therefore, to the scheme of this Survey as a whole, it has seemed appropriate to give in the last section of this chapter the results of an analysis of the police figures for the district. Such a study of 'crime and its treatment' may indeed give us to some extent a measure of the success of the system which is the subject of the whole chapter.

¹ See pp. 159-60 above,

Courts.

(1.) *Petty sessions.* The courts of petty sessions are not merely the foundation of the English judicial system, but also exhibit that nice balance between statutory duties and their voluntary performance, between local autonomy and central control, between the amateur and the professional, which is characteristic of our English system of government.

These courts consist, for each petty sessional division, of a body of unpaid justices of the peace appointed by the Lord Chancellor on local recommendation. This is given in the city of Oxford and the borough of Abingdon by an advisory committee and in the counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire by the lord-lieutenant of the county assisted by an advisory committee. These committees are nominated by the Lord Chancellor and their composition is a closely guarded secret. The object of this secrecy is to avoid canvassing and wire-pulling. At the same time, it is sometimes said that these committees tend to favour the appointment of justices of certain political views, or who are partial to certain interests, and it is possible that the advantages of greater publicity would outweigh the disadvantages.

Justices of the peace are not required to have any legal knowledge as a qualification for taking office. Their appointment, however, is for life (except *ex-officio* justices who are appointed for the tenure of their office), so that they may in time acquire legal knowledge from experience and under the guidance of the clerk of the court, who is usually selected from among practising solicitors and whose most important duty is to conduct the justices along the slippery paths of the law. The courts in each division hold regular sessions ranging in frequency from once per fortnight to two or three times per week, and in addition hold special sessions from time to time. The field of selection is, therefore, to some extent limited by the difficulty of finding suitable persons who have the time to attend with adequate frequency, and thus the large majority of justices belong to the land-owning, trading, and professional classes. There are a number of *ex-officio* justices; in Oxford and Abingdon the mayor, the ex-mayor (for one year), and the recorder are *ex-officio* justices for these areas. In Oxfordshire and Berkshire the county court judge, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, the chairmen of the county councils, and of rural and urban district councils, the mayors of Woodstock and Abingdon,¹ and any High Court judges and

¹ At Woodstock and Abingdon the ex-mayor may sit in judgement for one year upon offences committed in their respective boroughs only. Neither has been included in the *ex-officio* column in Table 56 below, as in 1936 the ex-mayor of Woodstock

privy councillors¹ in the area are similarly *ex-officio* justices for their counties.

There is a certain general tendency discernible in the Survey Area for the office of clerk of the court to become almost hereditary, as it is held frequently by successive members of the same firm of solicitors.

The following tables (55 and 56) give for each petty sessional division the population in 1931, the number of justices and number of sessions in 1936, and the dates at which these justices were appointed.²

TABLE 55
Courts of petty sessions

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Population 1931</i>	<i>Justices as in Dec. 1936</i>	<i>Sessions 1936</i>	<i>Juvenile Courts 1933-6</i>
Oxford City . . .	80,539	23	96	55
Bampton East . . .	12,609	13	21	11
Bullington* . . .	16,166	16	44	2†
Ploughley . . .	12,487	11	23	2†
Wootton South . . .	9,753	13	25	15
Abingdon Borough . . .	7,829	13	59	15
Abingdon P.S.D. . . .	12,289	16	26	15
Total	151,672	105	294	

* This court sits alternately at Oxford and Thame.

† See p. 249, note *, below.

It will be observed that sessions are held more frequently in urban than in rural districts. In the latter the tendency is to hold relatively few special sessions and to sit for the whole of the regular days in order to dispose of the accumulated cases. In urban districts the ease with which a quorum may be collected makes possible the more frequent holding of special sessions even if the business of each is not very large. This latter qualification, however, hardly applies to Oxford City.

It is not possible to assume a direct relation between the age of justices and the length of their appointment, since the age at which held an independent commission of the peace and the ex-mayor of Abingdon had left the borough.

¹ The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General are also *ex-officio* justices of the peace, and the latter is, in fact, vice-chairman of the Oxfordshire quarter sessions.

² The *ex-officio* column in Table 56 represents the number of offices to which the commission of the peace is attached in the various P.S.D. When these offices were, in 1936, held by persons who were already upon the commission of the peace in some earlier year such persons are also reckoned under that year and are thus counted twice. This will explain discrepancies between the totals in Tables 55 and 56 and between Table 56 and the text.

TABLE 56

Date of appointment of magistrates holding office in 1936

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Before 1900</i>	<i>1900-1909</i>	<i>1910-1919</i>	<i>1920-1929</i>	<i>1930-1936</i>	<i>ex-officio</i>	<i>Total</i>
Oxford City . . .	1	2	1	10	7	3	24
Bampton East . . .	1	2	3	2	3	2	13
Bullington . . .	..	..	2	8	4	3	17
Ploughley . . .	..	..	4	2	3	2	11
Wootton South . . .	1	4	..	1	6	1	13
Abingdon Borough . . .	1	1	..	4	5	2	13
Abingdon P.S.D. . . .	3	2	3	2	4	2	16
Total . . .	7	11	13	29	32	15	107

they are appointed may vary. From such information as is available Tables 57, 58, and 59 have been compiled covering the great majority of those justices who held their office in 1936 by appointment, that is to say only those holding office *ex-officio* are included who had been put upon the commission of the peace before 1936. From Table 57

TABLE 57

Number of magistrates of given age in 1936

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Under 30</i>	<i>30-39</i>	<i>40-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60-69</i>	<i>70 and over</i>	<i>Total</i>
Oxford City	2	4	7	8	21
4 Oxfordshire P.S.D.	2	4	13	11	13	43
Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.	5	2	5	9	21
Total	2	11	19	23	30	85

it is clear that, in spite of emphatic and repeated expressions of opinion by the Home Office, nearly one-third of the justices remain on the bench beyond the age of 70. Table 58 shows that of the 85 justices almost two-thirds were between 40 and 60 when first appointed. Table 59 distinguishes between those appointed before

TABLE 58

Number of magistrates of given age at date of appointment

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Under 30</i>	<i>30-39</i>	<i>40-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60-69</i>	<i>70 and over</i>	<i>Total</i>
Oxford City . . .	1	1	3	9	5	2	21
4 Oxfordshire P.S.D. . . .	2	8	14	12	6	1	43
Abingdon Borough and P.S.D. . . .	1	3	5	7	4	1	21
Total . . .	4	12	22	28	15	4	85

1920 and those appointed in or after that year. Of the total just one-third were appointed in the earlier period, and although the figures are small it is clear that at that time more younger men (although no women) were being put on the commission of the peace than is the case to-day. In fact, we find four recent cases of justices being actually over 70 when first appointed, again contrary to the Home Office opinion. This is not a phenomenon peculiar to the Survey Area, and it is presumably to be explained partly by war losses and partly by the decline in the number of young landowners with sufficient private means to make them available for such unpaid public service; otherwise it is hard to understand why advisory committees to-day should experience a greater difficulty than did their predecessors in discerning judicial capacity in persons of less than 50 years of age.

TABLE 59

Number of magistrates of given age at date of appointment

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Under 29</i>	<i>30-39</i>	<i>40-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60-69</i>	<i>70 and over</i>	<i>Total</i>
Appointed before 1920 .	4	5	10	7	2	0	28
Appointed in or after 1920	0	7	12	21	13	4	57
Total . . .	4	12	22	28	15	4	85

For attendances we are dependent on press reports, which often exclude those justices who come in after the opening of the court. Subject to this qualification, and considering only those justices who were qualified to sit throughout the whole of 1936, an examination of the press reports of sessions held during 1936 in the first five petty sessional divisions enumerated above shows that:

9 per cent. of the justices attended 75 per cent. or more of sessions
 25 " " " " 50-75 per cent. of sessions
 38 " " " " 25-50 " "
 28 " " " " less than 25 per cent. of sessions.

In the Abingdon Petty Sessional Division the justices are divided into two panels attending alternate sessions.

The petty sessions are courts of summary jurisdiction, i.e. the justices sit without a jury. To remand a prisoner a single justice suffices; otherwise two justices form a quorum and exercise the full powers of the court. Courts elect their own chairmen annually, but in Oxford and Abingdon the mayor, if present, is entitled to preside. The latter procedure is commonly followed in boroughs which are conterminous with a petty sessional division, but it has been

criticized in as much as a mayor generally only holds office for one year and usually has no legal or judicial experience; but it does not appear that the arrangement has proved unsatisfactory in the Survey Area.

The magistrates have both judicial and administrative functions.¹ Broadly speaking, all criminal cases must begin before them sitting in a court of petty sessions. They are also empowered to deal finally with non-indictable offences, save in certain cases where the accused elects to be tried by jury; in the case of indictable offences they must either dismiss the case or commit the accused for trial by jury at quarter sessions or assizes, save for certain cases which, with the consent of the accused, they may decide to deal with summarily.² The civil cases which come before them are restricted to affiliation and matrimonial cases, the recovery of income-tax, rates, and other moneys owed to local authorities, certain small debts owed to private persons, and cases of ejectment from property of an annual value of less than £20. The work of the juvenile court will be dealt with below. In addition the justices are responsible for issuing warrants and granting summonses.

The most important administrative duties of the magistrates consist in serving on probation committees and on the panel of visiting justices for H.M. prison in Oxford,³ visiting mental institutions under the Mental Deficiency Act, and granting licences to public houses⁴ and other places of entertainment. They also give consent for minors to marry in certain circumstances, they attest documents for various purposes, and have jurisdiction over apprentices. In performing these duties the justices do not sit as a court but as an administrative body, although this is sometimes obscured by the circumstance that in some cases the whole bench of magistrates will act in this capacity and that in reaching their decision they may receive the evidence of witnesses and hear legal arguments. For example, in the county petty sessional divisions the 'licensing justices' for granting liquor licences are normally the whole bench of magistrates, and their decisions are subject to the 'confirming authority' of quarter sessions acting through a committee. This is also true of the borough of Abingdon, whose confirming authority is at Reading.

¹ A relic of their executive character is to be found in their duty to make proclamation under the Riot Act, 1714, popularly called 'reading the Riot Act'.

² See also p. 272 below.

³ See p. 263 below.

⁴ In this connexion they have the important duty of making the grant of a licence conditional on such money payment as may secure for the public the extra value which the premises derive from the licence, the so-called 'monopoly value'. Such payments are collected by H.M. Commissioners of Excise and paid to the Exchequer.

In Oxford City, however, the licensing justices are a panel formed from the whole body which itself acts as the confirming authority and also as the 'compensation authority'; the contributions to the 'compensation fund' are collected by H.M. Commissioners of Excise and paid to the city treasurer acting as treasurer of the compensation authority. The compensation authority at its principal meeting, which is public, is a judicial body acting judicially.¹

Appeals from the courts in Oxford and Abingdon may be taken to the recorders of these boroughs and from the county benches to the appeals committee of quarter sessions (one of whose members must, if practicable, be a woman in cases of appeal from a juvenile court), or the justices may be asked to state a case on legal grounds for the consideration of the High Court. Such appeals have been few,² and in even fewer cases have decisions been reversed, but it must be remembered that an appellant must enter into recognizances for the costs of both sides in the appeal, and many litigants are unable to meet this requirement. It is apparently rare for a poor litigant to take advantage of the Rules of Procedure (1933) which permit the grant of legal aid in appeals in certain circumstances on a certificate from the magistrates.

Juvenile courts. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 requires the justices in each petty sessional division to set up a panel from among their number, composed of persons specially qualified to deal with juvenile cases. From this panel a juvenile court consisting of not more than three justices (at least one of whom should be a woman) can be formed to consider all cases involving persons under 17 years of age, including applications to adopt children.

The panel for Oxford City consists of eleven justices—seven being men and four women—under the chairmanship of the Chichele Professor of International Law. Members attend the court in rotation. Fifty-five meetings of the court have been held between its establishment in October 1933 and October 1936. The procedure of the court is deliberately informal. It does not meet in the court room, but in the magistrates' private room, and the general public is excluded; in the city the police, if present, wear their uniform, but in the country they wear plain clothes. The composition of the juvenile court panel and the number of court meetings in the rest of the Area are shown in Table 60. It appears that relatively few cases are brought before the juvenile courts in the counties. The reasons for

¹ For the arrangements in the counties see p. 252 below.

² Taking 1931 and 1936 as typical years there were only two appeals in 1931 and four in 1936 from the seven courts; in 1936 two judgements were reversed on appeal.

this are various, but do not exclude the supposition that full use is hardly being made of the opportunities afforded by the act. In Oxford, however, the work of the court is becoming increasingly important. The object of the juvenile court is not primarily to inflict punishment, but to apply remedial treatment to cases of social maladjustment. Nevertheless, the fact that some of those brought before it are actual offenders leads to the common belief that all are. Thus those who are brought before the court solely because they are helpless may be ashamed. It is highly desirable that no undeserved reputation should attach to what is, in effect, a social clinic.

TABLE 60
Juvenile courts

<i>Petty sessional division</i>	<i>Panel</i>	<i>Meetings</i> (Oct. 1955–Oct. 1956)
Bampton East	4 men, 1 woman	11
Bullingdon*	?	?
Ploughley*	?	?
Wootton South	3 men, 1 woman	15
Abingdon Borough	4 men, 2 women	15
Abingdon P.S.D.	4 men, 2 women	15

* These P.S.D. were unwilling to supply this information. A consideration of the cases (other than adoption cases) heard by them suggests that the Bullingdon juvenile court may have met rather more than 15 times and the Ploughley juvenile court rather less than 15 times during the first three years of their existence.

Apart from the granting of adoption orders the cases dealt with in the juvenile courts are of two kinds: those where the child or young person¹ has committed an offence, and those where he or she is held to be in need of 'care and protection'. These cases, because of their superficial similarity, are frequently confused. Children or young persons may be brought before the juvenile court for any offence, but in practice the most common cause of their appearance is larceny. The court may order them to be sent to a Home Office approved school (if over 10 years of age)² or commit them to the care of a 'fit person' (a relative, friend, or the local authority which for these and other purposes connected with the juvenile court acts through the education committee), or may put the offender on probation for such period and on such special conditions as the

¹ 'Children' are those under 14, 'young persons' those who are 14 and under 17.

² The old terminology of 'Industrial School' and 'Reformatory' has been abolished and such institutions are now termed Schools and graded as Junior (for ages 10–13), intermediate (13–15), and Senior (15–17). There is none in the Survey Area, the nearest being at Towcester (for boys) and Knowle Hill (for girls).

In Oxford City, however, the licensing justices are a panel formed from the whole body which itself acts as the confirming authority and also as the 'compensation authority'; the contributions to the 'compensation fund' are collected by H.M. Commissioners of Excise and paid to the city treasurer acting as treasurer of the compensation authority. The compensation authority at its principal meeting, which is public, is a judicial body acting judicially.¹

Appeals from the courts in Oxford and Abingdon may be taken to the recorders of these boroughs and from the county benches to the appeals committee of quarter sessions (one of whose members must, if practicable, be a woman in cases of appeal from a juvenile court), or the justices may be asked to state a case on legal grounds for the consideration of the High Court. Such appeals have been few,² and in even fewer cases have decisions been reversed, but it must be remembered that an appellant must enter into recognizances for the costs of both sides in the appeal, and many litigants are unable to meet this requirement. It is apparently rare for a poor litigant to take advantage of the Rules of Procedure (1933) which permit the grant of legal aid in appeals in certain circumstances on a certificate from the magistrates.

Juvenile courts. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 requires the justices in each petty sessional division to set up a panel from among their number, composed of persons specially qualified to deal with juvenile cases. From this panel a juvenile court consisting of not more than three justices (at least one of whom should be a woman) can be formed to consider all cases involving persons under 17 years of age, including applications to adopt children.

The panel for Oxford City consists of eleven justices—seven being men and four women—under the chairmanship of the Chichele Professor of International Law. Members attend the court in rotation. Fifty-five meetings of the court have been held between its establishment in October 1933 and October 1936. The procedure of the court is deliberately informal. It does not meet in the court room, but in the magistrates' private room, and the general public is excluded; in the city the police, if present, wear their uniform, but in the country they wear plain clothes. The composition of the juvenile court panel and the number of court meetings in the rest of the Area are shown in Table 60. It appears that relatively few cases are brought before the juvenile courts in the counties. The reasons for

¹ For the arrangements in the counties see p. 252 below.

² Taking 1931 and 1936 as typical years there were only two appeals in 1931 and four in 1936 from the seven courts; in 1936 two judgements were reversed on appeal.

this are various, but do not exclude the supposition that full use is hardly being made of the opportunities afforded by the act. In Oxford, however, the work of the court is becoming increasingly important. The object of the juvenile court is not primarily to inflict punishment, but to apply remedial treatment to cases of social maladjustment. Nevertheless, the fact that some of those brought before it are actual offenders leads to the common belief that all are. Thus those who are brought before the court solely because they are helpless may be ashamed. It is highly desirable that no undeserved reputation should attach to what is, in effect, a social clinic.

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experience of the court may suggest. It may also impose a fine or deal with the offender in other ways.

The practice of the courts in the Survey Area appears to vary considerably and is discussed below (pp. 276 ff.).

Children and young persons in need of care and protection are those against whom offences have been committed or who are falling into bad associations, exposed to moral danger, or beyond control. They may be brought to the court by the police, the education committee, inspectors of the N.S.P.C.C., or their own parents. When it is decided to remove such cases from their homes the court will commit the child or young person to the care of some fit person. In most cases the education committee will act in this capacity and will either board them out in a suitable private home or send them to an approved school, a voluntary home, or, at Oxford, to the public assistance school, in Garsington Road, known as 'The Poplars'. When they are left in their homes they may be put under the probation officer or the parents may be bound over to exercise proper care and guardianship. In dealing with individual cases both the education authority and the probation officers are used and the court is guided in making its final decision by their reports. Between October 1st, 1935, and September 30th, 1936, the Oxford City court dealt with 28 cases of offences and 14 care and protection cases, while of the juvenile courts in the rest of the Survey Area those in the four Oxfordshire petty sessional divisions dealt with 39 cases of offences and no care and protection cases. Abingdon Borough dealt with 9 cases of offences and Abingdon Petty Sessional Division with 5 cases of offences. There were no care and protection cases brought to the Abingdon courts during this period.

When on remand, boys are sent by the Oxford court to the remand home at Cowley (which is, in fact, only the private house of an ex-sergeant of police) and girls to the Mission House, Clark's Row, Oxford, unless they are 'rescue cases', when they are taken to the House of Refuge in Oxford. Remand cases from the two courts at Abingdon go to the County Remand Home at Reading. The method of remand is a very important part of the technique for dealing with difficult juvenile cases. Not only does the offender have the opportunity for quiet reflection, but, which is more important, it gives the authorities time to have him or her mentally¹ and physically examined by doctors whose reports will be invaluable in suggesting a future course of action. Accommodation for this purpose both in

¹ Oxford is one of the leading cities in the country in applying psychological treatment.

the Oxfordshire and Berkshire sections of the Survey Area is notoriously far from satisfactory and practical experience so far gained emphasizes the necessity of an adequate remand home conveniently situated and elastic in its accommodation. The expense involved should not be a serious obstacle if the several petty sessional divisions could combine for the purpose and if the various voluntary bodies at present sharing the functions of a remand home could co-operate. We understand, indeed, that the provision of a proper remand home for Oxford is under consideration.

The work of the juvenile court is of great social importance. On the one hand, it leads to cases being brought which might otherwise have been overlooked. The result of this is to produce a statistical increase in the number of offences committed. It would not be fair to argue from this that there is an equal increase in actual delinquency, since at least a part of the apparent growth is due to the fact that juvenile delinquents are being brought into court, and thus into the records, for offences that would have been previously overlooked. That they should be caught thus early, is, in view of the methods open to the court, a clear social gain. On the other hand, its work in care and protection cases is a valuable statutory reinforcement of the preventive work done by private agencies and unofficially by probation officers and the police.

Matrimonial conciliation. An interesting development of the work of the Oxford City bench has been the appointment, in September 1936, of one of their number to endeavour to effect reconciliations in cases where an application has been made to the court by one member of a married couple for an order for separation and maintenance. In such cases the conciliator arranges for the parties to meet him privately and separately, and endeavours to bring about a reconciliation before the parties come into court. Between September 1936 and June 1937 twenty-six cases were so dealt with, each requiring two or more interviews. In some cases reconciliation was effected; in others a separation with maintenance was arranged privately; in some cases conciliation failed and the required summons was granted.

The conduct of matrimonial cases in the magistrates' courts is now regulated by the Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act, 1937, which came into force on October 1st, 1937. The act assigns to the probation officers the duty of interviewing the parties and providing the court with reports on the case, and thus limits the scope of the conciliation machinery, although this still continues to function.

(2.) *Quarter sessions.* There are four courts of quarter sessions in the Survey Area—one each for the city of Oxford, borough of Abingdon, and the counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Each of these courts meets four times a year. The presiding justice in Oxford and Abingdon is the Recorder, who is a practising barrister appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Home Secretary but paid by the local authority; in the counties the presiding justice is a chairman who is unpaid and elected by the justices of the peace for the county. All the justices of the peace have a right to sit on the quarter sessions bench, and in the counties their function is to assist the chairman, two forming a quorum for this purpose. As the chairman is usually a person of legal experience the presence of justices at quarter sessions is in practice most valuable as enabling them to acquire first-hand knowledge of the application of judicial principles. It is obviously desirable that as many as possible should attend.

The court hears criminal cases too serious for the courts of petty sessions and cases sent to it on appeal, and has a limited civil jurisdiction. It sits with a jury in criminal cases heard on indictment, but in appeals from petty sessions the appeals committee (in Oxford and Abingdon the Recorder) sits without a jury. Appeals from cases heard on indictment go to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

The county justices at quarter sessions also perform certain administrative functions, chiefly in connexion with the administration of the liquor laws. A committee of justices acts as the confirming authority for the county licensing justices and also (in this case in a judicial capacity) as the compensation authority, and imposes the contribution to be made by each licensee towards the compensation fund.¹ These contributions are collected by H.M. Commissioners of Excise and paid to the compensation authority, for whom the county accountant acts as treasurer. The fund is used for compensating the holders of licences which are extinguished on the ground of redundancy. No levy has been made for some years as the funds in hand are held to be adequate to meet probable claims for the present.

(3.) *The county court.* England, for county court purposes, is divided into circuits, of which the Oxford circuit is Number 36. It comprises the county of Oxfordshire together with parts of the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. The Survey Area is served by the courts sitting at Oxford, Thame, Witney, and Wallingford. The whole of the central part of the

¹ For arrangements in Oxford City see p. 248 above.

Area, including Oxford City and Abingdon Borough and petty sessional division, is served by the Oxford court. Five parishes¹ form part of the area served by the court at Witney, two² form part of the area of the Thames court, and three³ of that at Wallingford. The Oxford court sits monthly, the others every other month, except during legal vacations. Although there may be a jury of eight the court usually sits without one, presided over by a salaried county court judge appointed by the Lord Chancellor and paid out of the Consolidated Fund. In each court there is also a registrar, appointed by the Lord Chancellor and paid by the Treasury, who acts as clerk of the court.

The county court system was established in 1846 for the recovery of small debts, but the courts now have considerable jurisdiction over a variety of civil cases, limited by the amount of money involved, the limit varying with the kind of action. Cases of libel, slander, seduction, breach of promise of marriage, and the cases dealt with by the court of petty sessions are excluded from their jurisdiction. Generally speaking, actions for debt or founded on contract or tort where the amount claimed is not over £100, and cases in equity up to £500 come within the scope of these courts. Such actions may be either begun in the county court or transferred to it from the High Court (which may in certain circumstances transfer cases where the above limits are exceeded and may also transfer Poor Persons' actions).⁴ The Oxford County Court has bankruptcy jurisdiction, and all petitions filed by or against debtors in this area are filed in the County Court Registry. The court has also an appellate jurisdiction in certain matters—for example, from the decision of the Registration Officer upon franchise disputes.

The county court has unlimited and exclusive jurisdiction in matters arising out of various acts such as the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923, and the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1925. Of these the latter is by far the more important from the point of view of the work of the court. Every settlement between an employer and a workman by payment of a lump sum of money, to be binding, must be made the subject of an agreement between the parties, and this agreement must be approved by the county court registrar and recorded in the records of the court. If the registrar does not approve the agreement (on the ground, for example, that the sum offered is

¹ Eynsham, Handborough, Northmoor, Standlake, Stanton Harcourt.

² Thomley, Waterperry.

³ Dorchester, Drayton St. Leonard, Stadhampton. There are 66 parishes in the Survey Area.

⁴ These may not be begun in the county court; see p. 266 below.

insufficient) he will refuse to record it and the workman's weekly compensation must be continued till an agreement, satisfactory to the registrar, is reached. He may refer the agreement to the judge for his consideration, but this does not occur frequently in practice. The county court judge acts as an arbitrator in all matters in dispute between the parties under the Workmen's Compensation Act. When acting as arbitrator the judge frequently sits with a medical referee or assessor, and it is peculiarly fortunate that in the Oxford County Court the judge is a medical man as well as a barrister. Appeals in practically all matters within the jurisdiction of the county courts go direct to the Court of Appeal.

(4.) *Assizes*. The assize courts for the county of Oxford (including the city) and the county of Berkshire form part of the Oxford circuit and are held respectively in Oxford and Reading every four months to try the most serious criminal cases. They are presided over by a judge of the High Court of Justice sitting with a jury. Appeals, as from quarter sessions, lie to the Court of Appeal. The assize court also hears certain civil cases sitting with or without a jury, and undefended divorce cases. As the work of the Oxford Assizes covers an area so much wider than that of the Survey, it is not dealt with here although it seems necessary to give this brief description of the position of the court within the framework of the local organs of justice.

(5.) *The coroner's court*. The coroner's court is a very ancient institution which has retained a large measure of its ancient functions. Although the duties of the coroner to inquire into fires and stranded royal fish have been generally abolished, he still retains the duty of holding an inquest into cases of treasure trove and in cases where any person is suspected of having died a violent or unnatural death or where the cause of death is unknown. In the latter case, the court, sitting with a jury, may return a verdict of murder or manslaughter against a named individual and commit him to a court of petty sessions. In view of the duplication of evidence thereby involved and for other reasons the advantages of this system have been questioned. Since the abolition of public executions the coroner holds an inquest on executed criminals and certifies the cause of death. He has no administrative duties.

Coroners, although originally elected and serving without pay, are now appointed by county and county borough councils and receive a salary from local funds. They themselves appoint deputies who are unpaid. They are required to be 'fit persons', which is generally interpreted to mean either medical practitioners or persons

of the legal profession. In many places a combination of these qualifications is required.

For the holding of coroners' inquests Oxfordshire is served by five courts, those for Banbury, and the north, south, west, and central districts of the county.¹ Oxford City has its own court. The central district includes thirty-eight parishes and the west four parishes of the Survey Area, but the north and south (except for one parish) lie outside it. All the Survey parishes in Berkshire are in the north Berkshire district, which includes both Abingdon Borough and petty sessional division, together with others. None of the districts in fact coincides with any other administrative or judicial area, and reference should be made to Fig. 52² for their precise limits.

(6.) *The university courts.* There are two courts now existing in the university of Oxford with jurisdiction over its members—that of the chancellor and that of the vice-chancellor. The vice-chancellor may, in certain circumstances, claim the right to exclusive jurisdiction over members of the university, and members of the university may claim the right to be tried in the courts mentioned, although the exercise of this privilege has lapsed.

There used also to be another university court, that of the high steward, but this is now obsolete. It last sat in the seventeenth century. It could hear and determine all criminal charges, including treason, against members of the university.

The jurisdiction of the chancellor's court (commonly called the vice-chancellor's court), which originated in the thirteenth century, was confirmed and added to by the Great Charter of 1523. The court is held by an assessor appointed by the vice-chancellor. The assessor must be a barrister of five years' standing and the vice-chancellor may, if he chooses, sit with or without the assessor. The vice-chancellor has not sat in this court for many years. The court is supposed to sit every Friday, but in practice it meets less often. It is a court of civil jurisdiction, roughly corresponding to a county court and administering the common and statute law of the realm and not, as previously, the Roman law. In practice, the cases which come before it generally arise out of summonses by tradesmen of undergraduates for non-payment of accounts, where these are not settled out of court.

The summary and criminal jurisdiction of the vice-chancellor exercised in the vice-chancellor's court, properly so called, springs from clause 3 of the Charter of 1523, which authorizes the chancellor of the university, his commissary (i.e. the vice-chancellor), and his

¹ The office of university coroner no longer exists.

² Appendix VII.

deputy (i.e. a pro-vice-chancellor) to do 'all things which pertain to a Justice of the Peace in the Town of Oxford, the suburbs and precincts thereof, and elsewhere within the Kingdom of England'. They may not, however, deal with cases of treason, felony, and mayhem. In virtue of the charter the vice-chancellor has in the past claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the members of the university in criminal cases. The Oxford University (Justices) Act, 1886, further regulated the position of the chancellor's commissary and deputy, enacting that they may sit and act as justices of the peace for the counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Any justice of the peace for these counties can sit and act with them in the university court-house. The effect of this act and the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, on the vice-chancellor's criminal jurisdiction has been a matter of dispute. A recent suggestion is that the two acts may be held to have restricted the scope of the vice-chancellor's jurisdiction to that of a justice of the peace, but to have still left him, within these limits, the right to claim exclusive jurisdiction.¹ In cases of felony the vice-chancellor can claim cognizance of them, although he cannot try them, and if a *prima facie* case is made out may remit them to the quarter sessions or the assizes.

Police.

The police force for the area included in this Survey is organized on the same lines as in other parts of England. The central authority is the Home Secretary, who appoints inspectors of constabulary to visit the different areas and inquire into the efficiency of the local force.

There is a separate police authority and police force for the city of Oxford, but the boroughs of Abingdon and Woodstock—as having had a population of less than 10,000 in 1881—and the five petty sessional divisions form part of the areas controlled by the authorities of the counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. In the city of Oxford the police control is exercised by a watch committee consisting of not more than one-third of the members of the corporation together with the mayor *ex officio*. They appoint the chief constable with the sanction of the Home Secretary, and their authority is independent of the corporation except in matters of finance. In the counties the powers and duties respecting the county police are exercised through a standing joint committee consisting of equal numbers of justices appointed by the quarter sessions and of mem-

¹ See *Rashdall's Mediaeval Universities*, ed. by Powicke and Emden (1936), p. 492, editors' note.

bers of the county council. This committee, with the sanction of the Home Secretary, appoints the chief constable and increases and diminishes the number of county police. The necessary money is paid out of the county fund. On a certificate from the Home Secretary that an efficient police force is established, one-half of the approved expenditure as certified by the district auditor of the Ministry of Health is paid to the local police authority from a government grant. The balance is defrayed in boroughs out of the general rate and in the counties as a special expenses charge on the county fund.

For the city of Oxford the police force consists of 112 officers and men and one policewoman, or 1.25 per 1,000 of the population.¹ It includes a chief constable, a superintendent, 6 inspectors, 15 sergeants, and 89 constables. The total strength of the force available for ordinary duties, after deductions have been made for the men on weekly and annual leave and those absent through sickness, is split up into three reliefs to cover the twenty-four hours. Since the introduction of traffic-light signals no whole-time traffic points are controlled by constables. The reserve force of special constables numbers 91.

The area comprised in the police division for Abingdon is larger than the area of the borough and petty sessional division together. The police force for the division forms a part of the Berkshire county organization under the chief constable and consists of 1 superintendent, 3 inspectors, 4 sergeants, and 31 constables. The police of the four Oxfordshire petty sessional divisions form a part of the Oxfordshire county force. The local staff in the various divisions includes 3 sergeants and 17 constables in Bullingdon (Thame), 2 sergeants and 9 constables in Bampton East (Witney), 1 sergeant and 7 constables in Wootton South (Woodstock), and 1 superintendent, 2 sergeants, and 10 constables in Ploughley (Bicester). In 1931 the population of the Abingdon division was 32,870 and that of the four Oxfordshire divisions taken together 51,015, giving a present strength of 1.18 policemen in the former area and 0.98 in the latter per 1,000 of the population.

In addition to routine duties there are a number of duties imposed on police officers by various recent acts of parliament which in the aggregate involve a considerable increase in the amount of work, although individually they may not occupy much time. While the numbers of the male police force appear to be adequate even for their many and increasing duties, it may be suggested that the police authorities have hardly appreciated the value of appointing addi-

¹ On the basis of an estimated population in 1936 of 90,000.

tional policewomen in Oxford and Abingdon. As a result of recent transfers there is now a woman sergeant of police attached to the Oxfordshire county head-quarters who will be in a position to render valuable help to divisions where the services of a policewoman are only occasionally required.¹

Mention may be made here of the small body of university police who assist the proctors in maintaining order among junior members of the university in public places. They are commonly known as 'bullers' (viz. bulldogs) and are under the immediate direction of the marshal, who is a permanent university official. Their duties consist in accompanying the proctors on their evening perambulations through the streets and on other occasions as necessary. When a member of the university *in statu pupillari* (i.e. one not yet a Master of Arts) is perceived committing an offence against a university statute or regulation he is brought by the 'bullers' to the proctor on duty, who challenges his identity in the formula—'Are you a member of this University?' and if the answer be in the affirmative: 'Your name and College, Sir?'; this procedure will be invalid if the proctor does not at the same time raise his academic cap. If of the university, the culprit will be summoned to appear before the proctor's court on a subsequent morning at 9.30 a.m. A legend that the bullers are ex-prize-fighters with a remarkable turn of speed is of use in causing undergraduates to 'come quietly'. They have no especial uniform, unless a bowler hat may be so considered.

The proctors are two in number, elected annually in pairs, one each from successive pairs of colleges. They must have been Masters of Arts for more than four but less than sixteen years; they appoint two deputies apiece. It may be noted that their authority does not extend inside the individual colleges, and that there is a tradition that the steps of the Queen's College and the enclosure in front of St. John's College are sanctuaries. In addition to their disciplinary duties the proctors also play an important part in the administration of the university (as they are *ex-officio* members of every university committee). They also have the right to sit at the judge's right hand in the assize court, an ancient privilege which they still exercise whenever possible.

Probation.

The system of probation is the most important instrument at the disposal of the courts of justice for the treatment of criminal offenders for whom punishment is for any reason deemed unsuitable. It is not

¹ There is also a policewoman at Chipping Norton.

confined, as is often supposed, to juveniles, but may be applied to persons of any age by any court. The period of probation may be from six months to three years, varying with the age of the offender and the seriousness of the offence. In few cases is it as short as six months, a period which is clearly inadequate to produce any remedial effect. At the beginning of 1937 there were 79 males and 31 females of all ages under the probation officers in Oxfordshire, and 21 males and 1 female in Abingdon.

The counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, including their boroughs (with the exception of Reading), were each constituted combined probation areas in 1926. Each petty sessional division has a probation committee of justices, and representatives of these committees form the probation committee for the combined area, which appoints probation officers for the area with the confirmation of the Home Office. Probation committees in the various petty sessional divisions meet to receive reports from the probation officers and to give them their advice. The Oxford City committee meets monthly, that in Bampton East annually, and others in the Survey Area meet quarterly. The combined area committees are responsible for seeing that the service provided is adequate for the needs of the community. The Oxford committee receives an annual report from the probation officers and discusses all difficult cases with them personally; the Berkshire committee receives a statistical report from each of the local committees. Each committee elects its own chairman and the Oxfordshire committee is peculiarly fortunate in having a chairman who, after much experience as a High Court judge, is now one of the Lords of Appeal as well as chairman of the Oxfordshire quarter sessions. He is a keen supporter of the probation system and his views and presence on the committee have a valuable influence on the attitude of the Oxfordshire benches towards it. The chairman for the Berkshire committee for the combined area is a king's counsel. In Oxfordshire the probation service has been centralized in one full-time male officer and one part-time female officer. One-third of the salary of the male officer (£370) is paid by the combined area, one-third by the Home Office, and one-third by the Police Court Mission and Oxfordshire Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society jointly.¹ Of the salary of the female officer (£100) half is paid by the combined area and half by the Home Office. In the Berkshire combined area

¹ The recent report of a Home Office Departmental Committee on Probation may produce certain changes in area organization. In conformity with the committee's recommendations the voluntary bodies who contribute to the salary of the male officer in Oxford have given notice to terminate the arrangement.

there are no full-time officers. Abingdon Borough and petty sessional division share the services of a part-time male officer who receives £10 a year. Female offenders appear to be put under any convenient person, the local moral welfare worker being employed in some cases.

The work of the probation officer consists in making preliminary inquiries before offenders are brought into court and in supervising them when on probation. An important part of their work consists in finding employment for probationers. In June 1937 all the Oxford probationers had been provided for, and in Abingdon about 13 out of the 21 male probationers were in jobs. In Abingdon the opportunities for employment are clearly fewer than in Oxford. For the relief and assistance of probationers the officers may apply for small sums from the magistrates' poor box, and from the combined area probation funds.¹

The Children and Young Persons Act of 1933² has greatly added to the official work of the probation officers and has increased their co-operation with the education authority. Apart from their official duties the probation officers do a great deal of voluntary work of many kinds, in particular they advise in a great variety of cases. Parents of headstrong young persons will consult them as to how to avoid their children's being brought into court, young men and women with whom they have had earlier and official dealings will return to ask their help in the finding of a job or the solution of some new problem, in association with other social workers they may be asked to find foster-mothers for the children of unmarried girls, a woman whose husband is ill-treating her may appeal to them for advice and moral support; there appears to be no limit to the human problems with which they may be called upon to deal.

Prison.

'The ultimate sanction of every law is a prison sentence' (Mr. James Maxton, M.P., June 30th, 1937), and prisons thus form an essential part of the machinery of maintaining law and order. H.M. prison at Oxford is a local prison, that is to say it receives prisoners committed by courts in Oxfordshire and the greater part of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire who are not sent to specialized institutions such as Borstal, Wakefield, and Wormwood Scrubs. Since March 1922 it has been used exclusively for male prisoners, women being sent to Holloway or Birmingham, and young prisoners (i.e. between the ages of 17 and 21) to a juvenile prison, if they are serving a sentence of more than six months. The buildings surround and include

¹ See p. 268 below.

² See pp. 248 ff. above.

the remains of Oxford Castle, so that this site has been used for the confinement of prisoners since the reign of Henry III. The present structure, however, was erected mainly in the years 1848-56 and is in some ways out of date, though perhaps no more so than are most other prisons. It has accommodation for 135 prisoners. The staff consists of the governor, the chief officer, 19 uniformed officers (or warders), the works engineer, the steward, and two clerks, a part-time medical officer, and four visiting chaplains.¹ The medical officer only deals with the men's physical, and not with their mental, state of health, unless there are definite grounds for suspecting insanity. Nevertheless, there are always abnormal cases, not amounting to insanity, among the prison population (most of whom may, without sentimentality, be termed social misfits whose general need is psychological treatment), and it would be advantageous if the psychological inquiries already being made in some cases for the courts could be systematized and extended.

The following table (61) shows the distribution of the prison population on a specimen day, according to length of sentence. It is not possible to say how many of these men come from the Survey Area:

TABLE 61
Prison population, Oxford
(specimen day)

<i>Length of sentence</i>	<i>Prisoners</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Under 1 month . . .	2	24.7
1 month to 3 months . . .	20	
3 months to 6 months . . .	7	31.5
6 months to 12 months . . .	21	
12 months to 18 months . . .	15	28.1
18 months to 2 years . . .	10	
Penal Servitude (i.e. over 3 years)	4	15.7
Debtors	4	
Trials and Remands	6	
Total	89	100.0

Included in the above are four young prisoners and ten star class, i.e. prisoners serving their first sentence. It may be observed that nearly a quarter are serving a sentence of less than three months.²

There are signs that since the passing of the Money Payments (Justices Procedure) Act, 1935, the number of debtors committed to

¹ Anglican, Wesleyan, Jewish, and Roman Catholic.

² See p. 274 below.

prison is on the decrease. The figures for the last two years are shown in Table 62. The act, however, only applies to magistrates' courts and might with advantage be extended to county courts.

The day's routine in the Oxford prison is as follows :

6.30 a.m.	Cells are unlocked.
7 a.m. to 8 a.m.	Breakfast, clean cells.
8 a.m. to 12.15 p.m.	Associated labour.
12.15 p.m. to 1.25 p.m.	Dinner.
1.25 p.m. to 5.40 p.m.	Associated labour.
6.15 p.m. to 8 p.m.	Evening activities, lectures, baths, visits from prison visitors, &c.

There are two periods for outdoor exercise during the day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Each is for three-quarters of an hour. Regular work for the week-end ceases at dinner-time on

TABLE 62

Debtors committed to Oxford prison

	<i>County Court: debts</i>	<i>Wife maintenance</i>	<i>Bastardy arrears</i>	<i>Rates and taxes</i>	<i>Total</i>
1935	45	18	8	7	78
1936	37	8	5	2	52

Saturday, but the workshop is open in the afternoon, though attendance is not compulsory. On Sunday there are services in the chapel in the morning and afternoon and two periods of exercise.

Some attempt is made to separate the various classes of prisoners according to their age and degree of criminality by housing star prisoners, young prisoners, debtors, 'specials' (young men between 21 and 26 with a previous criminal record), and prisoners on trial and remand on separate landings and giving them separate employment. It is difficult, however, to do this if the number of prisoners is small and the varieties of possible employment few, as is inevitable in a local prison. Apart from the internal work of the prison, which includes the maintenance of the fabric as well as the cooking and laundry work, the only tasks performed are sewing mail-bags, rug-making, and chopping and bundling wood. No vocational training is given, but some evening classes have been held since 1919. At present the subjects covered are history (two classes), singing, gardening, economics, and gymnastics. The class in gymnastics is held twice a week under a prison officer. The others are

held once a week for 30-40 weeks in the year. They are available, as a privilege, for the long-term prisoners and seem to be well attended. The teachers are volunteers secured through an educational adviser appointed by the Prison Commissioners; at the present time the adviser is a resident graduate of the university of Oxford.

Agencies for controlling and assisting the work of the prison include the statutory body of visiting justices and the voluntary organization of prison visitors.¹ The term 'Visiting Justices' is appropriated to those justices who visit the prison officially. Each bench connected with the prison appoints from among themselves a number of representatives determined by the Lord Chancellor. For the Oxford prison there is a panel of twenty-six justices from the counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, the city of Oxford, and the boroughs of Reading and Abingdon.

The duties and powers of visiting justices are laid down in rules made by the Secretary of State under the Prison Act, 1877. The scope of their activities is very wide and is in fact limited only by their own discretion. In practice, visiting justices inspect every department of the prison, interview every prisoner, and listen to any complaints or representations. They are entirely independent of the prison officials, with whom, however, they are expected to co-operate in promoting the efficient administration of the prison.

The powers of visiting justices are correspondingly extensive. They can visit any part of the prison at any hour of the day or night. They are bound to report to the Commissioners any abuses in connexion with the prison which come to their knowledge, and in case of urgent necessity they may suspend any officer of the prison, including the governor, until the decision of the Commissioners is made known. They also deal with any prisoner whose conduct is reported to them by the governor as deserving more severe punishment than he is empowered to inflict. They visit the prison monthly, and, in addition, one visiting justice goes to the prison each week. His powers are the same as those of a full committee. The visiting justices also administer the Oxford Prison Benefaction Fund.²

It is difficult to assess the value of work done by visiting justices. It is undoubtedly useful to have an independent body inspecting a public institution—especially when that body has extensive powers. Frequently the Prison Commissioners ask the visiting justices to inquire into particular cases and seek their advice on questions of policy pertaining to the prison, and particularly as regards the employment, health, education, and recreation of prisoners. It is realized

¹ See p. 270 below.

² See p. 268 below.

that undue interference would be fatal to administration, but the Prison Commissioners do not lightly disregard the recommendations of the visiting justices, though it sometimes happens that financial considerations prevent them from doing all that they would wish.

Voluntary agencies connected with the administration of the law.

When we come to consider the part played by voluntary agencies in the local administration of justice we find that, from one point of view, the whole foundation of the system rests on a basis of voluntary effort. Such important statutory bodies as local benches, district, borough, and county councils are composed of volunteers; and jury service, though compulsory, is unpaid. To draw a distinction between statutory and non-statutory bodies is, therefore, not very helpful, and it seems better to distinguish between public bodies, such as have already been discussed, and private bodies, some of whom may operate under statutory regulations.

Among the most important members of the latter group are the two poor persons committees (out of a total of four) of the Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Incorporated Law Society. Such a society is empowered by Rules of Court of September 10th, 1925, to grant certificates to poor persons enabling them to take or defend or be parties to civil proceedings in the High Court. An applicant must satisfy the committee that his usual income from all sources does not exceed £2 per week, nor his whole property, exclusive of clothing and the tools of his trade, £40, and further that he has reasonable grounds for being a party to High Court proceedings. Such grounds include consideration of the importance of the proposed action to his situation, its unsuitability for county court hearing, and its chances of success. A certificate may be refused in cases where, even if successful, the applicant will be unable to collect damages from the other party. Where a certificate is granted the committee puts the applicant in touch with a solicitor and counsel who are willing to undertake the case. The applicant is exempt from court fees and from the fees normally charged by solicitors and counsel, though the committee will usually allow out-of-pocket expenses to be paid to the solicitor and demand a deposit of £5 against such expenses where they are expected to be heavy. The working expenses of the committee are met by a Treasury grant. The position of such a committee is one of great responsibility, since it has been held that no appeal lies to the court from its decision. The rules as laid down can hardly be said to encourage litigation, and although in certain circumstances—as when an applicant has numerous dependants—the committee may

extend the income and property qualifications up to twice the normal limits, such limits are undeniably stringent and exclude from the benefit of the courts persons who are not in fact able to meet the cost of litigation in order to maintain their rights. There is clearly a case for raising the income level. Unfortunately, in some areas, of which Oxfordshire would appear to be one, the number of solicitors willing to take cases seems to be inadequate for any substantial increase of cases.

It appears that the greater number of applications is for assistance to prosecute proceedings for divorce, as will be seen from the following table (63), which summarizes the work of the committees during 1935 and 1936:

TABLE 63
Work of poor persons committees

Committee	Applications				Disposal			
	Pending		New		Granted		Refused or otherwise disposed of	
	Actions	Divorce	Actions	Divorce	Actions	Divorce	Actions	Divorce
North Berkshire								
1935	2	10	6	31	1	14	4	21
1936	4	21	9	31	2	18	7	18
Oxfordshire								
1935	..	4	8	13	2	10	6	7
1936	2	3	8	17	6	13	2	4

The remaining applications arose out of claims for damages due to personal injury. The smaller number of applications made to the Oxfordshire committee appears to be partly due to the fact that the secretary of the committee endeavours to dissuade persons who have obviously no case from pressing their applications. In this he acts to some extent as a 'Poor Man's Lawyer'¹ and is by many so regarded.

Both the Oxfordshire and the north Berkshire committees report that they are well supported by the solicitors in their areas who are willing to undertake such cases, but the Oxfordshire committee suggests that it would be an advantage if more solicitors in that area were willing to serve. It seems likely that the Marriage (Matrimonial Causes) Act, 1937, which came into operation on January 1st, 1938, may cause a temporary break-down in the Poor Persons Procedure owing to the increased pressure upon solicitors and counsel

¹ See p. 267 below.

from clients who can afford to bring matrimonial causes at their own cost.

The Poor Persons Procedure does not apply to actions in a county court, unless such action has been remitted thereto by the High Court. This, however, does not appear to work undue hardship, since fees are lower in the county court and the greater simplicity of its cases and procedure makes it possible for parties to conduct their own actions. The more substantial and complicated cases are usually those remitted from the High Court and so falling under the rules for poor persons.

In criminal cases no such elaborate procedure exists. The Poor Prisoners Defence Act of 1930 and rules made thereunder permit a prisoner desiring legal aid to apply to the court before which he appears, whether petty sessions, quarter sessions, or assizes. If the application succeeds, solicitors (and counsel, where necessary) are assigned from lists, held by the clerk of the court, of those who are willing to appear. A greater discretion in determining the limits of poverty is allowed than under the civil rules. Whatever the result of the trial, the costs of the defence (as of the prosecution) are paid from local funds, solicitors and counsel receiving their fees, subject to rather low maxima,¹ and also any reasonable expenses. Although the work involved is sometimes considerable, the beneficiaries are usually appreciative of what has been done for them, and in spite of the low remuneration there appears to be no lack of counsel willing to undertake the defence of poor persons in criminal cases, which, of course, receive much greater publicity than attends civil proceedings. Also, by the custom of the Bar, a prisoner who can find one guinea may claim from the dock the services of any counsel present in court. It should be remarked that many cases in the Area have also been conducted by solicitors at reduced fees, or gratuitously, without the defendant's having recourse to this formal procedure. One of the chief activities of the probation officers consists in arranging for the defence of prisoners who, as it is their first appearance in court, are ignorant of legal formalities.

Although this is a matter of general rather than local interest, we may pause a moment to note the different principles upon which rests the help given to poor persons in civil and in criminal cases. In the former the obligation to see that no injustice is done is accepted solely by the legal profession, while in the latter it is assumed by the community. Both systems now work smoothly on the whole, though it would appear to be rather more difficult for a poor person, or even

¹ i.e. £3 5s. 6d. for counsel, £5 for solicitors.

a person of moderate means, to defend himself against a civil than against a criminal charge. But no great extension of the present civil procedure can reasonably be expected so long as it remains upon a voluntary basis.

While it is undeniably important to provide help for poor persons in court, yet there may arise many circumstances in ordinary life in which poor persons require legal aid of the sort obtained by the wealthier from their solicitors. In particular, as the Report of the Committee on Legal Aid for the Poor (1928) remarked: 'social legislation passed in the last generation has . . . made legal advice more often necessary in the case of the poor than it was before'. The working of the various social insurance acts, of acts dealing with education, housing, and town planning, as also the growth of instalment buying and of the operations of building societies, often produce situations in which a poor person requires to inform himself of his legal position even if no question of litigation arises. In many places legal aid societies or Poor Man's Lawyers exist, whose object is to provide legal advice, either free or at a purely nominal charge. This is given by either solicitors or barristers who have expressed their willingness to act and who attend in rotation on particular evenings at some convenient spot, often a social settlement, trade union office, or Y.M.C.A. Applicants are required to offer reasonable evidence that they cannot afford the regular fees. Although the growth of the working-class population of the Survey Area has been considerable, the unwillingness of local solicitors to co-operate in any formal scheme has prevented the establishment of any such organization until quite recently. It should, in fairness, be pointed out that many unsuccessful applicants to the Oxfordshire Poor Persons Committee in fact obtain legal advice. It is true, too, that local firms of solicitors have themselves both given much advice and conducted many cases gratuitously, quite apart from the procedures already described, often after application has been made by the litigant to the admirable information bureau provided by 'Fabius Lovell' in the *Oxford Times*. But the scale of the problem appears to have passed the stage where it can adequately be met by informal methods. It is satisfactory, therefore, to be able to report that during the latter part of 1937 this obvious social need was met through the efforts of the Oxford Council of Social Service, through whom has been established a regular Poor Man's Lawyer system in which several Oxford solicitors have agreed to take part. That this move has received the support of the Oxford Trades and Labour Council is of significance, since such bodies are often suspicious of 'social

service', and this support will no doubt help to make a reality of the scheme.

For the relief of necessitous cases there are in Oxfordshire the voluntary funds of the poor box in the city magistrates' court and the combined area probation fund. These charities amount to about £20 a year each and are maintained by the voluntary contributions of the magistrates; in addition, the former has a small income from legacies. The poor box is administered by the magistrates, and the combined area fund by three justices of the peace from the combined area acting through the male probation officer. The persons relieved are not limited to those who are brought before the courts. A typical applicant is the individual who gets stranded in Oxford and comes to the police for help in getting home. By them he is sent on to the organizers of one or other of these funds, from which he may obtain the advance of his fare home, which he invariably promises to repay and sometimes does. The Association for Clothing Poor Children, maintained by voluntary contributions from the police, gives substantial but unassuming assistance in necessitous homes. The Abingdon borough court established a poor box in 1936. One of its sources of income is from that part of the profits of the Sunday opening of the Abingdon cinemas which is paid to the borough council for charitable purposes. The Berkshire probation fund has an income of some £35 a year from subscriptions. For the specific assistance of prisoners discharged from Oxford prison there is the Oxford Prison Benefaction Fund, the result of past endowment, amounting to about £120 per year, administered by the visiting justices as trustees. The original provisions of the endowment, limiting it to prisoners from Oxford and excluding debtors from its benefits, have been abolished and the fund itself now forms part of the funds of the Oxfordshire Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.

The functions of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society are perhaps sufficiently indicated by its title, as it undertakes to do anything whatsoever that may help to rehabilitate a discharged prisoner. The organization is a national one with a local society for every prison in the country. The Oxfordshire society was formed in 1924. Since the closing of the prisons at Reading and Aylesbury,¹ the society has co-ordinated its work with the societies for Berkshire and Buckinghamshire through a joint committee, which meets annually, and an

¹ A hope that it might be possible, in the not too distant future, to close Oxford Prison was expressed by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on July 27th, 1938.

executive committee, consisting of the officers of the joint committee, the governor of the prison, the prison chaplains, representatives of the Oxford Prison Benefaction trustees, of the prison visitors,¹ and of the three societies. This arrangement came into operation on July 1st, 1935. Complete amalgamation was avoided, since the Buckinghamshire society has obligations to another prison and because of the possibility that the prisons at Reading and Aylesbury might be reopened. The executive committee meets weekly at the prison and interviews all prisoners about six weeks before their discharge, to see what can be done for them. If a man is a skilled artisan, or has a trade, there is in normal times a very good chance of getting him work. The committee found work for 45 discharged men in 1935 and for 38 in 1936, while 53 in the former year and 32 in the latter either returned to their former employment or found work for themselves. The majority of men discharged from Oxford prison, however, are not skilled workers and many of them are casual labourers 'without fixed abode'. In their case little more can be done immediately than to give them a few nights' board and lodging and to see that they are decently clad. The committee, however, appears to be willing to make maintenance grants to a discharged prisoner for some time after his discharge if the circumstances justify it. Applications for assistance at any time up to a year after discharge are entertained and assistance has been given after even longer intervals. The resources of the joint committee are the pooled funds of the three societies, less £20 per annum which each society keeps for its own use.² These funds are derived from government grants of 2s. per discharged prisoner and special juvenile grants, from investments (which return to each society an annual sum of from £15 to £19), and from subscribers, of whom there are (1936) 88 to the Berkshire, 90 to the Buckinghamshire, and 173 to the Oxfordshire society. In addition, the Oxfordshire society receives the income of the Oxford Prison Benefaction Fund,³ and the Berkshire society receives a grant from the borough of Abingdon from its share of the Sunday takings at the cinemas and also a little less than £4 from Elizabeth Dean's Charity originally founded to provide firing for prisoners in the old Reading County Jail. The contribution of the Berkshire society to the joint committee is said (Report for 1936) to be less than it should be in proportion to the number of Berkshire prisoners. The committee employs a paid agent, in this case the male probation officer⁴ for Oxfordshire.

¹ See p. 270 below.

² The Buckinghamshire society retains £30.

³ See p. 268 above.

⁴ See p. 259, note 1, above.

The prison visitors are a voluntary organization of private individuals appointed by the Prison Commissioners to visit prisoners in their cells and keep them in touch with the outside world. For Oxford prison there are ten men¹ drawn from the counties served by the prison. Each visitor is allotted from six to eight prisoners and receives a key to the cells and is allowed absolute privacy during conversations with prisoners. In some cases—but these are rare—prisoners refuse to have a visit. As a rule the prisoner appreciates visitors, who break the monotony of prison routine and enable him to discuss the circumstances of his home and family during his absence, and also to make plans for his future. As the prison visitors are represented on the executive committee of the Joint Prisoners' Aid Societies, the information gained during visits can be of great use in giving a man a fresh start on his discharge.

Another voluntary prison organization of interest is that for holding classes in the prison; this has been described above (p. 262).

This section would not be complete without a mention of certain private organizations which, although they have little or no statutory powers, yet do valuable work as scouts and skirmishers in the attack upon current social problems. The right of the inspectors of the N.S.P.C.C. to present to the juvenile court individuals in need of care and protection has already been mentioned. Tackling what is fundamentally the same problem, but from a different angle, the Oxford diocese maintains three paid, full-time moral welfare workers in the Survey Area, one of whom works in Oxfordshire, one in north Berkshire, and one is an organizer responsible for this work throughout the diocese. For the city of Oxford there is a committee for moral welfare which maintains a paid full-time worker. These bodies do what is commonly known as 'rescue work', for example, obtaining assistance, whether financial or otherwise, for unmarried mothers and their children, and trying to check professional prostitution at the source by taking amateurs off the streets. Their work brings them into close touch with the Mission House and the House of Refuge and also with the official machinery represented by the probation officers. In this connexion, too, the extremely valuable work done by the Comrades' Club, various boys' clubs, Toc H, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Church Army, and the Salvation Army should not be forgotten. Allied to these, also, is the organization of mental health workers described in an earlier volume.²

¹ Since 1922 there have been no female prisoners in the Oxford prison.

² E. F. Pinsent, *The Mental Health Services* (1937).

*Crime and its treatment.*¹

The increase or decrease of crime over a given period is of obvious importance as a measure of social decadence or progress. At the same time it is a measure whose employment is hazardous, for a change in the statistics of crime may be the result of a variety of causes. New laws and the abolition of old ones, changed methods of assembling the figures, an alteration in the policy of the courts or changes in the population—all these will affect the record. Increased activity on the part of social workers and of the police may combine to leave unchanged the criminal statistics of a community whose social morality has, in fact, improved. In dealing with the Survey Area there are added difficulties. Firstly, the figures are so small that deductions from them must always be uncertain and may sometimes be unfair. Secondly, the benches in Oxford City and Abingdon Borough and petty sessional division are the only ones whose area of jurisdiction lies wholly within the Survey Area. The rest of the Area consists of parts of four petty sessional divisions from which it is not possible to obtain separate statistics relating to the Survey Area only. By the courtesy of the police authorities of Oxford City and of the counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire we have been supplied with statistical material which forms the basis of the discussion which follows, but the figures for Oxford County (which represent the combined figures of the four petty sessional divisions) refer to an area slightly larger than that part of the county included in the Survey. Similarly, with regard to juvenile court cases (for which we are indebted to the Oxfordshire Education Authority and the magistrates' clerks of Oxford, Abingdon Borough, and Abingdon petty sessional division), the figures for the county of Oxford refer to an area slightly larger than the appropriate part of the Survey Area. In the pages which follow the reader is asked to bear these qualifications in mind and to regard the comments and opinions therein presented as being in no way those of the authorities by whom information was so generously given, but entirely as those of the writers, put forward with the utmost reserve and with full recognition of their slender statistical basis. In particular it should be remembered that the term 'county' in this section refers only to the four petty sessional divisions, parts of which lie in the Survey Area, and all references to the 'county' should be so interpreted.

Strictly speaking, crime is any offence against society punishable by law, as distinct from those infringements of the rights of indi-

¹ The tables which accompany this section are printed in Appendix VIII.

viduals which form the basis of civil actions. This meaning is thus wider than that of common parlance, which tends to restrict it to the more sensational types of offence.¹ It is the wider definition which is adopted here. For court purposes criminal offences are divided between the indictable and the non-indictable.² The former comprise the more serious crimes for which the accused would normally be sent to the superior courts and tried by a jury. In certain cases—chiefly those of simple larceny—the accused may consent to be dealt with summarily. Non-indictable offences are subdivided. The more trivial are chiefly breaches of regulations of various kinds (which increase as regulations multiply) and are dealt with summarily. Non-indictable offences ‘akin to indictable’ are more serious, consisting broadly of those offences for which the offender is liable to imprisonment for a term exceeding three months, and in these cases an accused person may claim to be tried by a jury rather than summarily.³

For the purpose of tracing the course of crime in the wider sense Tables A 1-9⁴ present the number of offences committed (or of persons charged)⁵ in 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936 under the above triple classification.

Taking indictable offences first, serious crimes against the person (i.e. both crimes of violence and sexual crimes) have remained consistently few. In Oxford County there is a steady decline throughout the period under review and in Abingdon the figures for 1936 return to the level of 1906 after an intervening rise. In Oxford City, however, the number of offences committed shows a sudden rise in 1936 after an equally inexplicable fall to zero in 1926. House-breaking and ‘other crimes against property’ declined during the War in the urban areas, but revived again later. The combined effect is that the total number of offences committed in the city, after falling to a minimum in 1921, is now double the number thirty years ago; the number of persons charged shows a slight decrease and the number

¹ See *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, vol. ix (1935), p. 346.

² See p. 247 above.

³ For further details the reader should consult the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, and the Criminal Justice Act, 1925, or Stone’s *Justices’ Manual*.

⁴ See Appendix VIII.

⁵ The difference in the case of indictable offences in Oxford City between offences committed and persons charged, which is considerable, is due to the circumstance that, apart from offences which are not disposed of, some prisoners are charged with a number of offences while some of the offences committed in Oxford are taken into account when prisoners are charged elsewhere. The figures for non-indictable offences refer merely to the number of persons charged, as in this case there are no returns of offences committed. The figures for the petty sessional divisions refer only to the offences committed.

of persons convicted has remained the same. In the county the number of offences has also nearly doubled, and in Abingdon it has increased by 60 per cent.

This increase cannot be attributed to changes in the level of employment in Oxford during the period, or to the existence of any definite criminal areas. Nor have the figures been affected to any substantial extent by new acts of parliament. The fact that of the 118 persons charged in 1936 in Oxford City about 40 per cent. were under 22 years of age suggests that it is *prima facie* unlikely that the increase is due to the 'extra-mural' activities of the London criminal.¹ In fact, the London criminal usually appears in Oxford only during special occasions, such as St. Giles' Fair and Eights Week, when he hopes to pick a few pockets in the crowd. Some of the crimes are undoubtedly committed by persons from other parts of the country, but it is not possible to estimate their number with any precision. On the whole it seems likely that most of the offences are committed by persons resident in or near Oxford, and probable that the rise in the number of offences should be connected with the increase in population, which has risen from 49,336 in 1906 to 90,000 (estimated) in 1936, or in almost the same proportion as the offences. An appreciable proportion of offences committed in Abingdon are also due to persons from Oxford or elsewhere.

By the courtesy of the police it is possible to show in Tables B 1-3² the ages and mode of disposal in 1931 and 1936 in respect of indictable offences dealt with summarily.³ Among male persons charged there has been in the city a remarkable increase in the number of juveniles (i.e. under 17), which rises from 5 to 23 and from just under 8 per cent. of the total in 1931 to just under 30 per cent. in 1936. Among females the most marked change is the increase among those over 17 and especially among those over 30. In the county the number of male juveniles only rises from 11 to 12, but the proportion increases from 18 to 31.6 per cent., while in Abingdon the number rises from 3 to 16 and the proportion from 12.5 to 42.1 per cent. The number of females dealt with summarily is negligible in the county and Abingdon. The tables showing the mode of disposal refer only to adults. Here we may note that in the county the number of adults dealt with has fallen from 51 to 29 and that 24 of the latter were fined. In Oxford City and Abingdon the total numbers remain

¹ See *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, vol. i (1930), p. 393.

² See Appendix VIII.

³ The three tables are not precisely comparable, since cases dismissed are excluded from the county figures but included in the others; the resulting discrepancy is believed to be small.

almost unchanged, but the number placed on probation is greatly increased. In Oxford City the number sentenced to imprisonment for more than three months declines by nearly two-thirds, but there is an increase in the total number of short sentences, i.e. of three months or less. In this connexion it may be remarked that there appears to be very general agreement among penologists that short sentences are both expensive and troublesome to the community and unfair to the person sentenced, since they are neither deterrent nor long enough for any reformatory treatment to be effective. That imprisonment as an effective deterrent to crime has definite limitations is suggested by the following figures (Table 64) for discharges from Oxford prison and reconvictions in recent years:

TABLE 64
Discharges and reconvictions. Oxford prison

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Discharges .	519	558	456	468	427
Reconvictions .	52	83	51	49	55

In each case the reconviction took place in the same year as the discharge, so that rather more than 1 in 10 of those discharged from Oxford prison are in prison again within twelve months.

The distribution of indictable offences between first offenders and recidivists may appropriately be considered at this point.¹ In the city, while the total number of recidivists has risen by only about one-eleventh, that of first offenders has increased by seven-elevenths, and the whole of this latter increase is produced by the increase of 'other crimes against property'. Recidivists, on the other hand, were responsible for 3 out of the 5 cases of sexual crime in 1936. In the county, however, while the number of recidivists remains stationary, their proportion of the total has risen from 20 to 28 per cent. The figures for Abingdon are affected by the circumstance that, in 1936, 10 first offenders from Oxford (of an average age of 17½ years) were charged together in respect of a single offence, so that the figure for that year may be regarded as unduly swollen. But even if these be omitted the number of first offenders is still all but treble that of 1931, while the number of recidivists has only increased by one-fifth.

Turning now to non-indictable offences akin to indictable, it will be seen that in all three parts of the Area there is a decline in total figures, although the component figures move in very different ways.

¹ Tables C 1-3 in Appendix VIII.

Crimes of violence show a steady decline in the county and Abingdon, interrupted by a slight rise in 1926, but in the city in 1936 the number of persons proceeded against is higher and the number of convictions more than trebled as compared with a decade earlier, although the figures in both cases are less than those of 1906. 'Other crimes against property' in the city and Abingdon rise in 1936 after a fall in the preceding years, while in the county they fluctuate in the decennial periods. The final result is that the total figures for Abingdon and the county show little change since 1916, while in Oxford City (where in 1926 only half as many people were proceeded against and only one-third as many convicted as in 1916) the figures in 1936 show a smart rise, with convictions secured against all but three of the persons proceeded against.

The number of minor non-indictable offences has been markedly increased by the operation of the Road Traffic Acts, which will be dealt with separately.¹ Otherwise the total of offences listed under this head would have shown a decrease; in particular there has been a large decrease in vagrancy offences except as regards begging in the city, which may only reflect an increase in police activity. Drunkenness also has greatly decreased throughout the Area in spite of the increase in population, and in the city half the persons charged with this offence in 1936 were vagrants. The disappearance of cases of prostitution is, however, without doubt due less to the decline in drunkenness than to the increased use of motor-cars.

The figures for motoring offences² have been considerably affected by changes in the law. The speed limit was abolished for private vehicles by the Road Traffic Act, 1930, so that the number of cases of exceeding the speed limit in 1931 refers only to public service and goods vehicles. In the city the limit for private vehicles was reintroduced by the Oxford Roads Restriction Order of 1933 and confirmed by the Road Traffic Act, 1934 (operative March 1935), which extended the limit of 30 m.p.h. to built-up areas throughout the country. Thus the figures for 1936 refer to more classes of vehicles than those in 1931. In the county, offences against the speed limit rose between 1931 and 1936 from 5 to 92, and in the city such offences increased from 45 to 124; in Abingdon, however, they fell from 32 to 2. In the county and Abingdon the number of cases of careless driving and of reckless or dangerous driving remained almost unchanged—as any regular traveller on the roads will testify—while in the city cases of dangerous driving diminished substantially, although cases

¹ In the county figures, Table A 6, offences against the Road Traffic Acts have been classified under 'other offences'.

Tables D 1-3 in Appendix VIII.

of careless driving almost doubled. Convictions for obstruction also increased between 1931 and 1936, both in the city and county, and the fines imposed tended to become more equal, the average falling in the city from 34s. 9d. to 14s. 9d., and rising in the county from 7s. 6d. to 15s. 2d. These movements may indicate deliberate policy on the part of the authorities in the two areas in the period reviewed. Considering the penalties inflicted it would appear that there has been considerable stiffening of the attitude of the courts to motoring offences, which they now tend to punish by endorsement or suspension of licences in addition to fines.¹

The juvenile courts have been too recently established for their returns to be of value in showing any trends that may exist in juvenile crime. Table E 1,² therefore, merely gives the cases dealt with by the courts during the twelve months ending September 30th, 1936, with the method of disposal. While this will not permit of any comparison's being made between different times it may suggest differences in different parts of the Area, although it must be remembered that only a limited period is being considered and that both conditions in the Area and the policies of the various courts may have since changed. Nor can the table give precise indication of the severity of the various offences.

Of the total of 81 children and young persons of both sexes brought before the courts during the year, 28 came from Oxford, 39 from the four petty sessional divisions, and 14 from Abingdon. Assuming that the proportion of persons under 17 to the total population is the same in each of these areas, we may express the above figures respectively as 3.5, 8.9, and 7 per 10,000 of the population. It would not be entirely legitimate to infer from this that, as compared with Oxford City, juvenile offenders are proportionately twice as common in Abingdon, and two and a half times in the county, since the proportion of relatively trivial offences is clearly larger in the county, while the method of disposing of the Abingdon cases may be evidence that these cases, too, were of a less serious order. The majority of juveniles brought before the court were charged with larceny, 47 out of the 81 being so charged, the total of charges (54) indicating that some were charged with more than one offence. In

¹ As the figures in the tables are those of fines and costs combined, it is not possible to say whether fines imposed have on the average risen or fallen, except in cases of obstruction where the question of costs seldom arises. We may note, for what it is worth, that the average total money cost to a person convicted of an offence against the speed limit in the city and county fell from 46s. to 22s. and from 33s. 1d. to 18s. 10½d. respectively, but rose in Abingdon from 28s. 2d. to 30s. between 1931 and 1936.

² See Appendix VIII.

the county a greater variety of offences is evident; we may note the presence of three persons charged with sexual offences and the absence of charges of house-breaking or assault. An interesting feature of the Abingdon cases, not indicated by the figures, is that recently juvenile offenders have tended to appear in pairs. This is not so marked in the rest of the Area, where juveniles seem to be more individualistic in their delinquency. It has been suggested to the writers (and also denied) that this may be connected with the rehousing policy in the borough of Abingdon which, by clearing slums in various parts of the borough and rehousing the inhabitants in a single area, has brought together potential delinquents who might not otherwise have met. The suggestion is interesting, but hardly capable of verification.

As regards the treatment of juvenile delinquents, it is clear that in Oxford City there is a strong preference for probation, not less than 18 out of 28 cases being so disposed of, while only 4 were sent to approved schools and 3 fined. In the county there is a greater variety of treatment, with an equally clear preference for fines or dismissal, with or without conditions. Of 39 cases, 12 were fined, 12 dismissed, 8 placed on probation (usually for a shorter period than in the city cases), 4 sent to approved schools, and 3 birched.¹ In Abingdon, out of 14 cases, none was placed on probation permanently (2 were placed under the probation officer pending transfer to an approved school), 5 were sent to approved schools, and 9 were either dismissed on conditions or bound over. From the figures alone it is hardly possible to say whether these differences represent differences in the seriousness of the offences, the ages of the offenders, or the policies of the courts, though they are certainly not without significance.

It has been pointed out above that the increase in juvenile crime of recent years is partly a purely statistical one due to the institution of juvenile courts. But part of the increase is undoubtedly real. It may be attributed to the difficulty of children and adolescents in adjusting themselves to the demands of society in places where they have little healthful occupation for their leisure moments, and in an age of relaxed parental control. In so far as delinquency is attributable to an unfavourable home environment, the powers of the justices under the care and protection sections of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, are of obvious importance. In this respect

¹ It may be remarked that the law does not permit 'young persons' to be birched, i.e. persons between 14 and 17, but reserves corporal punishment for children under 14 and adults.

there is a manifest difference between the extent to which these powers have been used in different parts of the Area.¹ In Oxford City during the year recorded, 14 persons were brought before the court as needing care and protection, ranging in age from 1 to 16 years. In other parts of the Area there were no such cases. Indeed, in the four Oxfordshire petty sessional divisions there were only 6 between November 1933 and July 1937, of which 4 were after December 1936; in Abingdon there were even fewer during these years. It can hardly be argued that the need for this procedure is less outside Oxford City. On the other hand, it may well be that in rural areas parents are still regarded as the proper persons to exercise care and protection over their children, and the authorities are thus reluctant to interfere. In Oxford City it is not unknown for parents themselves to appeal to the courts. But the larger proportion of less serious cases brought into the courts of the four petty sessional divisions may suggest that children are being brought into these courts as offenders who might reasonably have been brought for care and protection. While the difficulties of the education authorities in country districts are clearly considerable, there is an obvious case for wider use of their powers where parents are manifestly failing to carry out their responsibilities.

The extent to which juvenile delinquency is the result of the want of 'something to do' will measure the value of the work done by scouts, girl guides, clubs, and all institutions which seek to provide beneficial occupation for the leisure time of the child and adolescent. An extension of such organizations into country districts might do much to solve the problem of delinquency in those areas. Yet we must not forget that there is no royal cure for delinquency. The most important thing is to prevent the multiplicity of administrative and other devices from blinding us to the paramount necessity of giving the fullest consideration to the individual circumstances of each and every case.

An important part of the crime pattern is that provided by the first offender and his treatment. By the courtesy of the police authorities it is possible to show² with reference to first offenders in 1931 and 1936, their number, age, the nature of the offence, and the method of disposal. The information refers solely to indictable offences, as it is not possible in other cases to distinguish the types of offender.

The increase in the city in the number of first offenders as com-

¹ See Table E 2 in Appendix VIII.

² See Tables F 1-3 and G in Appendix VIII.

pared with recidivists has already been pointed out (p. 274 and Table C). The numbers also rose in Abingdon.¹ In the county the number falls from 41 to 27. In all parts of the Area 'other crimes against property' account for nearly all first offenders and a marked increase in the number of juvenile offenders is a factor of 1936 as compared with 1931. It is also noticeable that in 1936 all those who decided to make their criminal debut by 'breaking and entering' were under 22 (under 17 in Abingdon and the city), while in 1931 the majority were 17 and over. Breaking and entering is more usually a young man's crime than that even of an adolescent. Apart from this the changes in the age of first offenders are different in the city from those in the county. In the city, although the total number of males increases, there is no change in the number of those between 17 and 21, the increase being shared between those under 17 and those over 21. The proportion of the total number to be found in these latter age-groups has, however, altered but little. Although the number of those under 17 has more than doubled, yet the percentage of the whole has only risen from 21 per cent. in 1931 to 33 per cent. in 1936, while offenders of 22 and over still number about 48 per cent. of the total. Among females there is an increase in the number under 22 and also in those over 30. In the county, however, the total number of male first offenders has fallen (the number of females is too small for comment), but there has been a marked shift from the older to the younger age-groups. While in 1931, 56 per cent. were over 21, this group only contributed 33½ per cent. in 1936. In 1931 only 22 per cent. were under 17 as against 44 per cent. five years later. This is in striking contrast with the situation in the city. In Abingdon the age shift is even more marked, but, as has been explained, the situation there is not strictly comparable.

Table G² shows the mode of disposal of first offenders. In the city there is a sharp rise in 1936 in the number of short prison sentences, but over the whole of the Area the proportion sentenced to imprisonment is very small. The county and Abingdon made more use of the Borstal system and of approved schools when dealing with male offenders than did the city; on the other hand, the city placed more on probation, and the increase in Abingdon from none to seven placed on probation is gratifying. These differences may well reflect the changes in the age of first offenders referred to above. Of female offenders, the small number in the county again calls for no comment, while in the city there is a large increase in the number placed on probation. This increase may be connected with the appointment of

¹ But cf. p. 274.

² See Appendix VIII.

a part-time female probation officer in 1932. The increase in the number of persons (both male and female) charged with larceny may also be connected with the increased use of a probation system, as many employers and others may be more willing to bring charges when they realize that a conviction will not necessarily lead to imprisonment.

Reviewed as a whole the general position does not lend itself easily to a summary statement. Most of the crimes in the Survey Area appear to be committed by its inhabitants.¹ In Abingdon, crime seems to be less due to local inhabitants than to strangers. One may note with approval the decline in the more serious crimes of violence and the low rate (despite the figures of 1936) of sexual crime. The rise in 'other crimes against property' is also noticeable, but the cases are chiefly of petty larceny and are at least not rising faster than the growth of population. We may regard the fall in cases of drunkenness as indicating an increase in sobriety, although we may be more sceptical of the evidential value of the fall in the recorded cases of prostitution. The rise in the number of female offenders over 30 is a curious circumstance, but the cause of it, if indeed it be more than a casual phenomenon, is obscure. In the treatment of crime, the increasing use of the probation system and of Borstal and approved schools as alternative institutions to prison, together with the activities of the juvenile courts, are encouraging developments which it is hoped may be taken farther. The most disquieting feature is the growth in the number of juvenile first offenders in the rural part of the Survey Area. While much of this increase may be due only to increased activity by the police and the courts, enough remains to give point to the demand for a greater employment of preventive and protective measures, whether by statutory or voluntary bodies.

¹ See Table H in Appendix VIII.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

TABLES AND NOTES TO TEXT

Note 1, Chapter II

TABLE A

Total population of the Survey Area, 1911-37, by districts, as constituted in 1937

	1911 Census	1921 Census	Change 1911-21	% change 1911-21	1931 Census	Change 1921-31	% change 1921-31	1937 Estimate	Change 1931-7	% change 1931-7
Oxford C.B.	62,010	67,290	+ 5,280	+ 8.5	80,539	+ 13,249	+ 19.7	96,350	+ 15,811	+ 19.6
Abingdon M.B.	7,029	7,469	+ 440	+ 6.3	7,829	+ 360	+ 4.8	8,487	+ 658	+ 8.4
Woodstock M.B.	1,594	1,510	- 84	- 5.3	1,484	- 26	- 1.7	1,661	+ 177	+ 12.0
Total 'urban' areas	70,633	76,269	+ 5,636	+ 7.9	89,852	+ 13,583	+ 17.8	106,498	+ 16,646	+ 18.5
Abingdon R.D. (Berks.)	9,030	10,007	+ 977	+ 10.9	11,687	+ 1,680	+ 16.9	13,528	+ 3,841	+ 32.8
Part of Bullingdon R.D.	9,860	9,117	- 743	- 7.5	11,383	+ 2,266	+ 24.9	14,380	+ 2,997	+ 26.3
Part of Chipping Norton R.D.	303	349	+ 46	+ 15.2	484	+ 135	+ 38.5	497	+ 13	+ 2.7
Part of Ploughley R.D.	2,995	2,806	- 189	- 6.3	3,590	+ 784	+ 27.9	4,637	+ 1,047	+ 29.2
Part of Winey R.D.	4,469	4,378	- 91	- 2.0	4,895	+ 517	+ 11.8	5,373	+ 478	+ 9.8
Total 'rural' areas	26,657	26,657	± 0	± 0.0	32,039	+ 5,382	+ 20.2	40,415	+ 8,376	+ 26.1
Total Survey Area	97,290	102,926	+ 5,636	+ 5.8	121,891	+ 18,965	+ 18.4	146,913	+ 25,022	+ 20.5

TABLE B

*Total population of boroughs and civil parishes in the Survey Area,
1911-37*

(Parishes as constituted in 1937)

	1911	1921	1931	1937 (estimate)	Density: persons per acre	
					1911	1937
Oxford C.B. ¹	62,010	67,290	80,539	96,350	7.1	11.4
Abingdon M.B. ²	*7,029	7,469	7,829	8,487	4.1	4.9
Woodstock M.B.	1,594	1,510	1,484	1,661	10.2	10.7
Total Urban	70,633	76,269	89,852	106,498	..	..
Beckley and Stowood	274	208	324	346	0.12	0.15
Clifton Hampden	466	429	491	475	0.24	0.25
Cuddesdon	274	205	284	299	0.28	0.31
Culham	450	388	444	440	0.22	0.21
Denton	169	117	140	141	0.20	0.17
Dorchester	804	818	774	781	0.41	0.40
Drayton St. Leonard	184	211	219	241	0.14	0.19
Elsfield	163	174	163	171	0.13	0.13
Forest Hill with Shotover	402	383	575	2,584	0.20	1.28
Garsington	579	548	744	818	0.26	0.37
Holton	201	186	219	206	0.12	0.12
Horspath	382	361	540	609	0.30	0.48
Littlemore	1,909	1,641	2,387	2,775	1.84	2.68
Marsh Baldon	469	273	287	294	0.20	0.23
Toot Baldon		190	188	188	0.19	0.19
Marston	379	350	405	630	0.37	0.62
Nuneham Courtenay	304	277	290	296	0.14	0.14
Sandford-on-Thames	360	409	426	433	0.36	0.43
Stadhampton	485	432	561	649	0.20	0.27
Stanton St. John	397	397	443	474	0.15	0.17
Thomley	14	5	11	11	0.03	0.02
Waterperry	149	117	125	125	0.07	0.06
Wheatley	966	919	1,268	1,317	0.96	1.31
Woodeaton	80	79	75	77	0.10	0.10
Total Bullington R.D.	9,860	9,117	11,383	14,380	..	..
Blenheim Park	162	127	109	107	0.07	0.05
Hensington Without	141	222	375	390	0.25	0.70
Total Chipping Norton R.D.	303	349	484	497	..	..
Begbroke	83	95	101	98	0.18	0.21
Gosford and Water Eaton	*255	232	273	279	0.11	0.12
Hampton Gay and Poyle	161	113	108	116	0.11	0.08
Horton-cum-Studley	298	239	242	231	0.13	0.10
Islip	566	522	526	531	0.28	0.27
Kidlington	*1,079	1,065	1,674	2,608	0.47	1.13
Noke	104	94	93	95	0.13	0.12
Thrup	127	130	132	135	0.19	0.20
Yarnton	322	316	441	544	0.18	0.31
Total Ploughley R.D.	2,995	2,806	3,590	4,637	..	..
Bladon	374	413	398	397	0.44	0.46
Cassington	296	293	390	412	0.13	0.18
Eynsham ³	2,536	1,467	1,749	2,015	0.33	0.45
Handborough ³		993	1,127	1,306	..	0.40
Northmoor	226	227	241	249	0.11	0.12
Standlake	572	534	534	518	0.22	0.20
Stanton Harcourt	465	451	456	476	0.14	0.14
Total in Witney R.D.	4,469	4,378	4,895	5,373	..	..

TABLE B (cont.)

	1911	1921	1931	1937 (estimate)	Density: persons per acre	
					1911	1937
Appleford	233	240	284	272	0.27	0.31
Appleton with Eaton	493	466	562	650	0.24	0.31
Besselsleigh	68	64	61	55	0.08	0.06
Cumnor*	1,103	990	1,564	2,079	..	0.37
Draycott Moor	190	207	173	168	0.18	0.16
Drayton	*650	729	847	1,220	0.25	0.48
Frilford	132	113	135	149	0.12	0.13
Fyfield	251	218	214	214	0.16	0.13
Garford	127	133	114	110	0.12	0.10
Kingston Bagpuize	188	134	182	173	0.17	0.16
Lyford	109	123	131	191	0.14	0.24
Marcham	692	695	685	654	0.28	0.26
Milton	363	479	727	710	0.25	0.48
North Hinksey*	225	627	706	1,096	..	1.56
Radley*	927	1,072	1,088	1,542	0.23	0.39
Kennington* . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
St. Helen Without	*187	324	307	716	0.10	0.35
South Hinksey*	226	312	527	597	0.29	0.77
Steventon	811	856	855	884	0.34	0.37
Sunningwell	425	518	637	704	0.32	0.53
Sutton Courtenay	790	863	833	1,177	0.38	0.56
Tubney	155	149	153	148	0.14	0.13
Wootton	463	482	698	1,224	0.30	0.80
Wytham	222	213	204	195	0.11	0.10
Total Abingdon R.D.	9,030	10,007	11,687	15,528	..	..

* 1911 population of present parish approximate.

Notes to Table B

¹ Oxford C.B. City boundary extended, April 1st, 1929. The population of the old city was:

1911. 53,048

1921. 57,036

For the population of the areas included by the extension see note on changes of local government areas, Appendix III.

² Abingdon M.B. Borough boundary extended, April 1st, 1934. The population of the old borough was:

1911. 6,809

1921. 7,165

1931. 7,241

³ Eynsham and Handborough. 1911 population of each of the present parishes separately is not available, owing to the boundary change of 1932, which detached the hamlet of Freeland from Eynsham and added it to Handborough. The population of the old parishes was:

	1911	1921	1931
Eynsham	1,683	1,644	1,963
Handborough	853	816	913

⁴ Cumnor and North Hinksey. 1911 population of each of the present parishes separately is not available. The boundary change of 1934 detached the hamlet of Botley from Cumnor and added it to North Hinksey. The population of the old parishes was:

	1911	1921	1931
Cumnor	1,103	1,385	2,027
North Hinksey	225	232	243

⁵ Radley and South Hinksey. Figures include Kennington, created a parish on April 1st, 1936, and having on April 1st, 1937, an estimated population of 1,054.

Note 2, p. 26.

The census of 1911 was taken on the night of April 2nd-3rd, that of 1921 on June 19th-20th, and that of 1931 on April 26th-27th, so that the two inter-censal periods are of slightly different lengths. The differences of date appear to have little effect on the comparability of the figures of enumerated persons for the Survey Area as a whole, but they are in some cases important for the smaller units within it. The census was taken during the university vacation in 1911, but during full term in 1931; in 1921 it fell on the day after the end of Trinity full term, when a large number of undergraduates were still in residence. Radley School and other boarding-schools were in residence at the censuses of 1911 and 1921, but on holiday at the census of 1931.

Note 3, p. 26.

Official annual estimates by the Registrar-General are only available for Oxford C.B. and for the municipal boroughs and whole rural districts, and are therefore not very useful for the study of detailed movements. Moreover, owing to their method of compilation, they are liable to a very wide margin of error in a district like that covered by the Survey, where a large and variable body of immigration is the really decisive factor. The official estimate for the resident population of Oxford C.B. on June 30th, 1930, was 73,810. Nine months later the census revealed an actual resident population of 80,621. For the purposes of the Survey it has therefore been necessary to devise a more direct approach to the problem.

The basis of the estimate has been the number of inhabited properties in each parish in April 1931 and April 1937, as shown in the rating valuation lists. The difference between these figures represents the balance between demolitions and new building of houses. This difference has been multiplied by 3.5 in order to obtain the increase of population attributable to new houses. This allowance of 3.5 persons per house is very much lower than the actual figure for 1931; but it can be defended on the ground that the new houses are mainly occupied by recently married people whose families are small. But besides the increase in population associated with new building, allowance must be made for an opposite change—a fall in the numbers of persons in the older houses—which is the result of the campaign against over-crowding, and of the natural break-up of families which is taking place all over the country. Exactly what allowance ought to be made for this 'thinning out' factor is unknown. Between 1921 and 1931 it caused a fall in the number of persons in private families per dwelling from 4.22 to 4.05 in the 'urban' areas, and from 4.00 to 3.83 in the 'rural' areas, of the Area. If we assume a similar annual rate of thinning for the years 1931 to 1937, we may allow for it by deducting 0.10 persons for every house existing in 1931.

Thus the final basis for our estimated population for April 1st, 1937, is as follows:

- (a) the census population for 1931;
- (b) deduction of 0.10 multiplied by the number of 1931 houses;
- (c) addition, or subtraction, of 3.5 multiplied by the difference between the number of houses in 1931 and 1937.

The chief possible sources of error in this estimate arise from the thinning factor, and from the omission of any allowance for possible changes in the institutional population in colleges, hotels, workhouses, and so on. These

are only likely to introduce serious error in the case of Oxford City; outside that area, the estimates probably make a close approximation to the actual size of the population, and are certainly an adequate guide to changes in its relative distribution.

The summary estimate for April 1st, 1935 (given in Note 1, Table A), was prepared on the same principles.

Note 4, p. 27.

The places of origin of some of the immigrants are discussed in Chapter III of this volume. The census of 1931 showed that out of the 80,500 inhabitants of Oxford City, 45,271 were born in Oxford City or County, and 29,017 elsewhere in England. 1,868 were born in Wales and Monmouthshire, 923 in Scotland, and 931 in Ireland and other parts of the British Isles. The Dominions and Colonies provided 1,321, and foreign countries 1,074. Of those born outside Oxford City and County, the undergraduate population would account for about 3,500.

Note 5, p. 29.

Decreases of 50 or more persons were recorded at Littlemore¹ (269), Beckley (70), Cuddesdon (69), Culham (62), Horton-cum-Studley¹ (53), Denton¹ (55), and Standlake¹ (50). Hensington Without showed an increase of 81. The decrease at Littlemore (a sub-urban parish) was due to the fall of the number of persons in the Mental Hospital; the number of persons in private families there increased by 51.

Note 6, p. 29.

Kingston Bagpuize showed a decrease of 54; but there were increases of more than 50 persons in Cumnor¹ (282), St. Helen Without¹ (167) (including 62 persons in a travelling show), Radley¹ (147), Sunningwell (93), South Hinksey (86), Drayton (79), Sutton Courtenay (73), and Sutton Wick (52). The increases in St. Helen Without and in Sutton Wick were mainly in the parts included in Abingdon M.B. in 1934.

Note 7, p. 29.

Between 1921 and 1931 increases of more than 100 persons were recorded in Littlemore (746), Kidlington¹ (610), Wheatley (349), Eynsham (319), Garsington (196), Forest Hill (192), Horspath (179), Hensington Without (153), Stadhampton (present parish) (129), Yarnton¹ (122), and Beckley (110). In no parish was there a decrease of more than 50.

Note 8, p. 29.

Increases of more than 100 persons took place in Cumnor (present parish) (574), Milton (248), Wootton (216), South Hinksey (215), Sunningwell (119), Drayton (118). In Radley there was an increase of 320 in the population in private families, which was masked by the absence of the school on vacation at the census of 1931.

Note 9, p. 30.

Between 1931 and 1937 increases of more than 100 persons are estimated to have occurred in Forest Hill (2,009), Kidlington (934), Littlemore (388), Eyn-

¹ Old parish.

sham (266), Marston (225), Handborough (179), and Yarnton (103) in Oxfordshire; and in North Hinksey (990), Wootton (526), Cumnor (515), Radley (454), St. Helen Without (409), Drayton (373), and Sutton Courtenay (344) in Berkshire.

Note 10, p. 50.

TABLE A

Estimated net immigration of insured persons (aged 16-64) into the Survey Area, 1925-37

	Males	Females
I. OXFORD		
(a) Increase of insured	11,833	2,152
(b) Corrections for natural increase, &c., viz.:		
Add Deaths	1,060	176
„ Retirements at 65	1,556	194
„ „ on marriage . . . . .	..	1,978
„ Net movement between insured and non-insured occupations	634	305
Subtract Entry at 16	6,694	4,436
Add Administrative changes	412	141
„ Allowance for change in ratio of insured to occupied	89	31
Total corrections less	2,943	1,611
(c) Net immigration into Oxford	8,890	541
„ „ both sexes	9,431	
II. ABINGDON AND WOODSTOCK		
(a) Increase of insured	1,177	123
(b) Subtract Correction for natural increase, &c.	360	254
(c) Net immigration into Abingdon and Woodstock	817	-131
III. I. and II.	9,707	410
Subtract Migration from Abingdon and Woodstock to Oxford*	712	53
Net immigration (rounded off)	8,990	360
„ „ both sexes	9,350	

* Assuming that $\frac{\text{Migration from Abingdon and Woodstock into Oxford}}{\text{Total immigration into Oxford}}$
 equals $\frac{\text{'Foreigners' in Oxford (1936) from Abingdon and Woodstock}}{\text{Total 'foreigners' in Oxford (1937)}}$

The following procedure was used in arriving at these figures. For each year the natural increase in the insured population was deducted from the gross increase. The figure deducted was arrived at by taking the number of deaths of people aged 16-64, as recorded for Oxford by the Registrar-General, and adjusting it according to the ratio between the insured and the total population in this age-group; a similar estimate was made for the retirement of insured people on reaching the age of 65. The entry of boys and girls into insured industry was estimated from two sources which gave substantially the same results: (1) the annual number of school leavers in Oxford City was taken and adjusted for changes in the boundary of the city; (2) bi-annual estimates of newly insured boys and girls were based on the number of insured juveniles in the age-group 16 and 17. A further allowance had to be made for the retirement of women due to marriage. In all these corrections the data of the Registrar-

General referring to the whole population were applied to the insured population by using a ratio calculated from census figures. A correction was then applied to allow for the actual changes in this ratio as they appear from the census data of 1921 and from the estimates for 1937 given in the population chapter (see p. 282 above). Using national figures of the Ministry of Labour in conjunction with the above estimates it was possible to estimate the net balance of movement between insured and non-insured occupations (including agriculture and domestic service). Sudden changes in the number of insured due to alterations in the rules affecting the duration of claims for unemployment benefit and in the age-limit and the net movement between non-insured and insured occupations were also eliminated. For Abingdon and Woodstock figures of the gross changes of the insured population were available, but the corrections which were possible in the case of Oxford could not be applied directly to Abingdon and Woodstock owing to the lack of data. Since, however, the age-distribution of the insured population in each of these two districts was similar to that in Oxford, and the figures involved were comparatively small, it was thought justifiable to apply the aggregate correction in the same proportion as in Oxford. The figures thus obtained gave net immigration into each of the Employment Exchange areas of Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock; to get the net immigration into the Survey Area as a whole it was necessary to eliminate the migrations within the Area. For Oxford, the proportion of immigration from Woodstock and Abingdon to the total number of immigrants up to July 1936 was known from the analysis of unemployment insurance books (see p. 51 above). The migration from Oxford to Woodstock and Abingdon and between Woodstock and Abingdon was neglected.

For the period 1921-5 use was made of the census figures of 1921 (for insured industries only), and of lists of parliamentary electors, giving due consideration to boundary changes and to the proportion of the insured (or enfranchised) to the total adult population. When the figures were corrected for natural increase, &c. (in a way similar to the method used in Table A), a net immigration of about 860 was arrived at for the period 1921-5.

In the following table (B) a tentative estimate is given of the components of the net immigration into Oxford between 1921 and 1937. While the accuracy of the figures is doubtful they may be regarded as reliable indicators of the order of magnitude of streams of migrants into and out of Oxford.

TABLE B
*Estimated migration to and from Oxford of persons
aged 16-64, 1921-37*

	<i>Number of migrants</i>
1. Gross immigration of 'foreigners', 1921-37	20,505
2. Gross emigration of 'foreigners', 1921-37. . . .	7,941
3. Deaths of 'foreigners', 1921-37	704
4. Number of 'foreigners' in July 1937	11,860
5. Net emigration of Oxford people, 1921-37. . . .	2,273
6. Total emigration, 1921-37	10,214
7. Net immigration, 1921-37	10,291

These figures are derived from Table A on p. 287, from the count of 'foreign' unemployment books in July 1936, from the 'Claims Register' and 'Outward

'Transfer Book' for the period 1933-7, and from the figures of people placed 'in other districts' and 'from other districts' by the Oxford Employment Exchange in each year. Annual changes in the ratio of the last-mentioned numbers were regarded as indicative of changes in the ratio of emigration from year to year. Further, the Oxford death-rates for various age-groups were used in conjunction with the estimated age-distribution of the immigrants in estimating the survival rates for migrants.

Note 11, p. 53.

As the Unemployment Insurance Scheme was only extended to boys and girls of 14 and 15 in September 1934, 'foreigners' who were aged 15, 16, and 17 in July 1936 must have come to Oxford either in 1935 or in 1936, and 'foreigners' aged 14 must have immigrated in 1936. Calculations for the two years 1935-6, similar to those on which the tables in Note 10 are based, show in round figures an immigration of 'foreigners' of 2,500.

Note 12, p. 54.

Table showing change of industry in 1936 by 'foreigners' in Oxford

Industry of exit	Industry of entrance							Total
	Motor	Building		Distributive		Omnibus Service	Others	
		Skilled*	Unskilled	Men	Women			
Motor	..	4	15	25	4	4	80	132
Building, skilled	14	..	2	3	..	..	9	28
" unskilled	51	22	..	5	..	1	91	170
Distributive, men	109	6	14	..	..	14	77	220
" women	3	..	..	..	..	..	18	21
Omnibus service	11	..	..	1	..	..	2	14
Road transport not separately specified	21	1	5	8	..	87	10	132
Other forms of transport	26	1	9	5	..	1	16	58
Coal mining	38	..	15	6	..	..	28	87
Other mining and quarrying	10	..	2	1	..	1	19	33
Public works contracting	21	4	34	3	..	3	49	114
Electrical wiring and contracting	10	..	..	4	..	..	59	73
Shipbuilding	6	..	..	1	..	..	7	14
Engineers' iron and brass founding, &c.	56	2	6	..	1	4	24	93
General iron founding, general electrical and marine engineering	19	..	2	1	..	..	9	31
Construction of vehicles other than motors, cycles, and aircraft	19	..	..	1	..	..	2	22
Metal manufacture and working	22	2	1	2	..	..	16	43
Bricks and pottery	13	2	12	2	..	..	9	38
Woodworking	23	2	4	12	1	1	14	57
Chemicals, oils, &c., coke-ovens	8	..	2	1	2	..	3	16
Printing and paper	16	3	1	12	4	1	8	45
Textile	23	1	2	3	1	3	16	49
Clothing	8	2	..	10	2	..	10	32
Food, drink, and tobacco	15	..	..	13	3	1	8	40
Commerce and professional	6	1	1	2	1	1	23	35
Hotels, restaurants, and laundries	31	1	7	14	8	..	15	76
Entertainments and sport	5	..	4	2	..	..	8	19
Gas, water, and electricity supply	11	..	7	2	..	..	20	40
National and local government	13	5	27	9	1	4	47	106
Miscellaneous	125	1	2	5	2	4	29	168
Total	733	60	174	153	30	130	726	2,006
Women only. Total								126

* Skilled building-trade workers are strictly men who have been apprenticed to some occupation in the industry, e.g. plastering, but certain other categories such as motor-drivers, time-keepers, and accountants have been included in this class in this table and throughout Chapter III. The number of such men is inconsiderable compared with the true 'tradesmen'.

Note 13, p. 55.

Districts of origin of 'foreigners' working in Oxford in July 1936, grouped according to distance (by road) from Oxford

SOUTH-WEST			
Total 'foreigners' = 4,058			
	District	'Foreigners'	
I.	50 miles or less		
	Aldershot	23	
	Banbury	424	
	Basingstoke	14	
	Cheltenham	106	
	Gloucester	88	
	Newbury	63	
	Oxford ¹	1,332	
	Reading	874	
	Stroud	43	
	Swindon	513	
	Total	3,480	
II.	51-100 miles		
	Avonmouth	3	
	Bath	51	
	Bournemouth	27	
	Bristol	76	
	Cowes	25	
	Eastville	10	
	Gosport	4	
	Kingswood	2	
	Poole	11	
	Portsmouth	48	
	Salisbury	29	
	Southampton	56	
	Trowbridge	44	
	Weston-s.-Mare	10	
	Winchester	30	
	Woolston	5	
	Total	431	
III.	Over 100 miles		
	Barnstaple	11	
	Bridgwater	8	
	Devonport	7	
	Exeter	15	
	Falmouth	9	
	Plymouth	19	
	Redruth	16	
	Taunton	23	
	Torquay	10	
	Weymouth	13	
	Yeovil	16	
	Total	147	

WALES			
Total 'foreigners' = 1,195			
	District	'Foreigners'	
I.	50 miles or less		
	None	—	
II.	51-100 miles		
	Abertillery	14	
	Bargoed	69	
	Barry	24	
	Blaina	15	
	Bute Docks	4	
	Caerphilly	22	
	Cardiff	73	
	Chepstow	9	
	Crumlin	22	
	Dowlais	8	
	Ebbw Vale	26	
	Ferndale	66	
	Merthyr Tydfil	47	
	Newport	59	
	Penarth	4	
	Pontypool	33	
	Pontypridd	30	
	Porth	31	
	Risca	15	
	Tonypandy	45	
	Tredeggar	21	
	Treorchy	52	
	Total	689	
III.	Over 100 miles		
	Aberdare	22	
	Aberystwyth	7	
	Caernarvon	15	
	Flint	3	
	Gorseinon	7	
	Holyhead	5	
	Llanelly	38	
	Maesteg	215	
	Morrison	17	
	Mountain Ash	19	
	Neath	20	
	Newtown	5	
	Pembroke Dock	34	
	Port Talbot	38	
	Swansea	49	
	Wrexham	12	
	Total	506	

¹ i.e. Bicester, Chipping Norton, Thame, and Witney branch districts.

LONDON

Total 'foreigners' = 1,178

<i>District</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>
<i>I. 50 miles or less</i>	
Hounslow	10
Southall	30
Total.	40
<i>II. 51-100 miles</i>	
Acton	25
Barking.	4
Battersea	2
Bermondsey	7
Borough	18
Brentford and Chiswick .	15
Brixton	34
Camberwell	16
Camden Town	26
Canning Town	11
City of London	333
Croydon	30
Dagenham	15
Deptford and Greenwich	12
East Ham	8
Edgware Road	73
Enfield and Ponders End	9
Finchley	8
Great Marlborough Street	40
Hackney	14
Hendon	10
Holloway	22
Ilford	10
King's Cross	32
Lewisham	7
Leyton and Walthamstow	17
London Building Trades .	15
Penge	3
Poplar	11
Richmond	17
Shepherd's Bush	42
Shoreditch	19
Stepney	23
Stratford	18
Tooting	18
Tottenham	13
Walham Green	41
Westminster	53
Willesden	23
Wimbledon	13
Wood Green	14
Woolwich	17
Total.	1,138
<i>III. Over 100 miles</i>	
None	—

SOUTH-EAST

Total 'foreigners' = 995

<i>District</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>
<i>I. 50 miles or less</i>	
Harrow	13
High Wycombe	195
Luton	40
St. Albans	11
Slough	64
Watford	33
Weybridge	17
Total.	373
<i>II. 51-100 miles</i>	
Bedford	159
Braintree	3
Brighton and Hove . . .	41
Bromley	6
Cambridge	23
Chatham	18
Chelmsford	8
Dartford	18
Eastbourne	13
Erith	5
Gravesend	5
Grays	8
Guildford	13
Hastings	8
Kingston-on-Thames . . .	19
Letchworth	16
Maidstone	8
Romford	7
Southend-on-Sea	9
Sutton	10
Tunbridge Wells	19
Worthing	12
Total.	428
<i>III. Over 100 miles</i>	
Canterbury	10
Colchester	19
Dover	15
Folkestone	16
Great Yarmouth	4
Ipswich	62
King's Lynn	13
Lowestoft	13
Margate	15
Norwich	22
Ramsgate	4
Sheerness	1
Total.	194

MIDLANDS

Total 'foreigners' = 911

<i>District</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>
<i>I. 50 miles or less</i>	
Coventry	112
Leamington	46
Northampton	55
Rugby	34
Sparkhill	14
Total	<u>261</u>

II. 51-100 miles

Aston	11
Basford and Bulwell	8
Bilston	5
Birmingham	114
Brierly Hill	1
Bromsgrove	6
Burslem	4
Burton-on-Trent	8
Cannock	7
Coalville	3
Cradley Heath	4
Darlaston	8
Derby	23
Dudley	6
Hanley	10
Heanor	2
Hereford	20
Hinckley	1
Ilkeston	1
Kettering	10
Kidderminster	7
Leek	1
Leicester	42
Long Eaton	1
Longton	2
Loughborough	19
Mansfield	11
Newcastle-u.-Lyne	2
Nottingham	19
Nuneaton	17
Oakengates	11
Oldbury	3
Peterborough	13
Redditch	5
Selly Oak	11
Shrewsbury	12
Smethwick	9
Stafford	13
Stamford	3
Stoke-on-Trent	4
Stourbridge	6
Sutton-in-Ashfield	12

*District**'Foreigners'*

Swadlincote	2
Tamworth	20
Tipton	1
Walsall	5
Washwood Heath	2
Wednesbury	6
Wellingborough	11
West Bromwich	10
Willenhall	4
Wolverhampton	31
Worcester	39
Total	<u>606</u>

III. Over 100 miles

Chesterfield	12
Handsworth	5
Newark	11
Oswestry	9
Worksop	7
Total	<u>44</u>

NORTH-EAST

Total 'foreigners' = 639

Over 100 miles

Armley	1
Ashington	9
Attercliffe	15
Barnsley	10
Bishop Auckland	12
Blaydon-on-Tyne	11
Blythe	2
Boston	4
Bradford	9
Castleford	6
Chester-le-Street	6
Consett	4
Crook	8
Darlington	14
Dewsbury	2
Doncaster	20
Dunston-on-Tyne	1
Durham	10
Elswick	16
Felling	7
Gainsborough	8
Gateshead	34
Goole	1
Grantham	5
Grimsby	15
Halifax	7
Harrogate	6
Hartlepool	4

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<i>District</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>
Heaton	14
Houghton-le-Spring	1
Huddersfield	7
Hull	19
Jarrow and Hebburn	16
Keighley	4
Leeds	25
Lincoln	19
Mexborough	15
Middlesbrough	23
Newburn	1
Newcastle-on-Tyne	42
North Shields	14
Pallion	8
Pontefract	1
Rotherham	5
Roundhay	4
Royston	3
Scarborough	9
Scunthorpe	7
Seaham Harbour	2
Sheffield	40
South Bank	1
South Kirby	1
South Shields	20
Southwick-on-Wear	6
Sowerby Bridge	2
Spennymoor	6
Spen Valley	3
Stanley	4
Stockton and Thornaby	9
Sunderland	19
Wakefield	4
Walker	4
Wallsend	9
West Hartlepool	15
Wingate	1
Wombwell	1
York	5
Total	639

NORTH-WEST

Total 'foreigners' = 518

Over 100 miles

Accrington	7
Altrincham	2
Ardwick	1
Ashton-in-Makerfield	1
Ashton-under-Lyne	4
Bacup	5
Barrow-in-Furness	11
Birkenhead	18
Blackburn	9

<i>District</i>	<i>'Foreigners'</i>
Blackpool	8
Bolton	48
Bootle	2
Burnley	5
Bury	2
Carlisle	4
Chadderton	6
Chester	5
Chorley	2
Cleator Moor	17
Colne	10
Crewe	12
Darwen	2
FaiIsworth	5
Farnworth	3
Fleetwood	4
Garston	1
Glossop	1
Great Harwood	2
Haslingden	1
Heywood	1
Hindley	1
Horwich	6
Hyde	1
Kendal	4
Lancaster	3
Leigh	3
Levenshulme	5
Littleborough	1
Liverpool	63
Macclesfield	1
Manchester	47
Middleton	3
Nelson	27
Newton Heath	4
Northwich	3
Oldham	18
Openshaw	20
Pendlebury	1
Preston	12
Rawtenstall	1
Rochdale	2
Royton	1
Runcorn	1
St. Helens	12
Salford	9
Shaw	2
Southport	9
Stockport	8
Trafford Park	7
Wallasey	6
Warrington	4
Westthoughton	5
Whitehaven	2

NORTH-WEST (<i>cont.</i>)		District	'Foreigners'
	District		'Foreigners'
	Widnes		1
	Wigan		18
	Workington		8
	Total		<u>518</u>
SCOTLAND			
Total 'foreigners' = 158			
<i>Over 100 miles</i>			
	Aberdeen		8
	Alexandria		1
	Alloa		1
	Arbroath		3
	Ayr		7
	Bathgate		1
	Berwick-on-Tweed		1
	Bridgeton		1
	Clydebank		7
	Coatbridge		3
	Cowdenbeath		3
	Dumbarton		2
	Dumfries		7
	Dundee		11
	Dunfermline		5
	Edinburgh		9
	Falkirk		2
	Finnieston		2
	Galashiels		3
	Glasgow		15
	Govan		3
	Greenock		1
	Hamilton		5
	Johnstone		1
	Kilmarnock		1
	Kinning Park		3
	Kirkcaldy		3
	Kirtintilloch		4
	Leith		2
	Maryhill		3
	Motherwell		9
	Oban		1
	Paisley		2
	Parkhead		5
	Partick		2
	Perth		1
	Peterhead		3
	Port Glasgow		1
	Rutherglen		2
	Springburn		3
	Stirling		4
	Stornoway		1
	Uddingston		4
	Wick		1
	Wishaw		1
	Total		<u>158</u>
NORTHERN IRELAND			
Total 'foreigners' = 16			
<i>Over 100 miles</i>			
	Belfast		12
	Downpatrick		1
	Londonderry		3
	Total		<u>16</u>

Note 14, p. 56.

The inquiry about the residential distribution of workers in the motor industry (see Appendix IV) gives some idea of the importance of the number of people who work in Oxford but live outside the Survey Area. The figures are given in the last column of Table 8. These people are not necessarily 'foreign'; on the one hand, workers now living near Oxford may have originally come under the U.I. Scheme in a town in quite another part of the country, and on the other, a worker born and bred and still living in one of the towns and villages shown on the map of residential distribution (facing p. 310 below) may have first entered insured employment and taken out his book in Oxford itself.

Note 15, p. 58.

Owing to the strong effect of distance on migration which was noted on p. 56 above, the distance of a few miles of local travel to the nearest main route for Oxford weighs more heavily in the decision of an immigrant from a near division than from the more distant ones. To show this, the smallest possible number of Employment Exchange districts providing between them half of all migrants from a given division was selected. The proportion of the insured population of these districts to the total insured population of their division

was then calculated as a measure of the 'spatial spread of migration' to Oxford from a given division. The results are shown in the following table.

Table showing 'spatial spread of migration' in each division

<i>Division</i>	<i>Number of districts sending together half of all migrants from the division</i>	<i>Percentage of the division's insured population covered by these districts ('spatial spread')</i>
South-West . . .	2	5.6
South-East . . .	5	11.5
Wales	7	30.6
Midlands	8	37.4
North-East	14	40.1
North-West	9	44.2
Scotland	9	53.4

Note 16, Chapter IV.

Occupied population aged 14 and over, 1931

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Survey Area % of total</i>	<i>Eng-land and Wales % of total</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Survey Area % of total</i>	<i>Eng-land and Wales % of total</i>
Fishermen . . . .	..	0.2	Fishing . . . . .	..	0.2
Agricultural . . .	6.1	6.2	Agriculture	4.2	5.1
Mining and quarrying . .	0.1	5.1	Mining and quarrying . .	0.3	5.2
Makers of coal gas, &c. .	0.1	0.1	Manufacture of bricks, &c.	0.3	1.0
Makers of bricks, &c. .	0.1	0.5	Manufacture of chemicals, &c.	0.1	1.0
Workers in chemicals, &c. .	0.0	0.2	Manufacture of metals, &c.	15.0	9.3
Metal workers	7.7	7.7	Manufacture of textiles, &c.	0.2	5.1
Workers in precious metals	0.0	0.2	Manufacture of leather goods	0.4	0.4
Electrical apparatus makers	1.1	1.1	Manufacture of clothing .	2.7	4.1
Makers of watches, &c. .	0.1	0.1	Manufacture of food, &c. .	2.1	3.0
Workers in skins, &c. .	0.4	0.4	Wood working	1.3	1.3
Textile workers	0.1	4.6	Paper making and printing	3.9	2.2
Makers of textile goods, &c.	3.3	4.3	Building	6.6	4.5
Makers of foods, &c. . .	1.1	1.3	Other manufacturing in-		
Workers in wood, &c. . .	4.8	2.8	dustries	0.2	1.0
Paper workers, &c. . . .	0.8	0.6	Gas, water, electricity .	1.0	1.1
Printers, &c.	2.0	1.0	Transport and communica-		
Builders, &c.	4.2	3.7	tion	4.4	6.1
Painters, &c.	2.3	1.6	Commerce and finance .	14.4	14.7
Workers in miscellaneous			Public administration .	8.1	7.3
materials	0.4	0.7	Professions	10.1	3.0
Transport workers . . .	7.3	8.7	Entertainments and sport	0.8	0.8
Commercial and financial .	10.5	11.0	Personal service	18.6	11.9
Public administration . .	1.3	1.6	Other industries	0.3	0.2
Professional	7.2	3.9	Out of work	5.0	11.5
Entertainments	0.7	0.6			
Personal service	21.2	12.7			
Clerks, &c.	6.8	7.3			
Warehousemen, &c. . . .	1.5	2.2			
Stationary engine drivers .	0.4	0.8			
Other	8.4	8.8			
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0

Insured population aged 16-64, 1931 and 1937

Industry Group	1931		1937	
	Survey Area % of total	Great Britain and N. Ireland % of total	Survey Area % of total	Great Britain and N. Ireland % of total
Fishing . . . . .	..	0.2	0.0	0.3
Mining and quarrying . .	0.3	9.0	0.5	7.1
Non-metalliferous mining products	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.4
Brick, &c., making	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.8
Pottery, earthenware, &c. .	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5
Glass	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4
Chemicals, &c.	0.1	1.7	0.0	1.7
Metal manufacture	0.0	2.4	0.0	2.5
Engineering, &c.	1.6	5.9	1.3	6.0
Construction and repair of vehicles	25.6	2.5	29.5	3.0
Shipbuilding and ship repair- ing	0.5	1.5	0.3	1.3
Other metal industries* . .	3.9	4.5	6.1	5.4
Textiles	0.0	10.3	0.0	8.5
Leather and leather goods .	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5
Clothing	2.9	4.8	1.6	4.5
Food, drink, tobacco . . .	2.4	4.2	1.9	4.2
Woodworking, &c.	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.8
Paper, printing, &c. . . .	6.2	3.2	5.0	3.2
Other manufacturing in- dustries	0.1	1.2	0.0	1.2
Building and contracting . .	14.1	8.8	14.5	9.7
Gas, water, electricity supply	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.6
Transport and communica- tions	4.6	6.9	4.4	6.6
Distributive trades	19.9	14.7	17.7	15.2
Commerce and finance . . .	0.5	1.8	0.5	2.0
National and local govern- ment	5.0	3.5	4.4	3.8
Miscellaneous services . . .	7.0	7.1	8.1	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Percentage of all other insured people, 16-64</i>				
Agriculture, gardening, &c.	Not available		8.3	5.0

* Includes the workers employed by the Radiators Branch of Morris Motors, Ltd.

Note 17, p. 63.

Two sets of material were available: the population censuses and the figures compiled in connexion with the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. As different areas are covered by the census figures, the unemployment insurance figures, and the Survey itself, it was difficult to compare the position in different years. Moreover, it was impossible to deal with the population of the exact Survey Area. However, these anomalies are not serious, and no attempt was made to overcome them by statistical manipulation.

For a general picture of conditions in the district the 1931 population census was used. The area covered lies wholly within the boundaries of the Survey and contained, in 1931, 10,000 fewer people than the Survey Area. The local government areas included were: Oxford County Borough, Abingdon and

Woodstock Municipal Boroughs, Wheatley Urban District, and Abingdon, Culham, and Headington Rural Districts. Since the material is given in more detail for Oxford County Borough than for the other local government areas included, the conditions in Oxford City have been described rather more fully than those in the whole Survey Area.

For a more up-to-date, but also a more restricted, view of occupations, the unemployment insurance statistics were used, covering in this connexion only insured workers. The region then dealt with was that served by the Oxford, Abingdon, and Woodstock Employment Exchange offices, an area which is slightly larger than that of the Survey.

Note 18, p. 100.

In Table 18 the percentage of the unemployed to the insured population is given in order to afford a basis of comparison between the different areas, although the numbers on the live register include persons who were not part of the insured population. The numbers of unemployed on the live register in the South-East Division for the years 1927-33 are not available, and the percentages given relate to the insured unemployed.

Note 19, p. 100.

The figures for 1937 in Table 18 are for the first eight months only of the year, as in September 1937 an alteration was made by the Ministry of Labour in the method of counting the numbers on the live register, and it has not been possible to obtain figures for September to December which would be comparable with those for January to August. On either method of calculation the year's average for the Area would be rather lower than the figure of 7.5 per cent. given in the table.

Note 20, p. 105.

In the case of the figures for September to December 1937, given in Table 21, the effect of the alteration made in the method of counting the number of unemployed (see Note 19 above) has been discounted for the Area. The figures are therefore comparable with those given for the previous months. In the case of Great Britain, however, the figures for October to December are based on the new procedure.

Note 21, Chapter VII.

Number of retail shops

Class of shop	Oxford		Abingdon		Woodstock		Villages		Total	
	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935
Class A. Food, drink, and tobacco:										
Gross total of shops	725	844	113	106	22	32	254	311	1,114	1,293
Net total of shops	693	813	112	106	22	32	244	301	1,071	1,252
Class B. Clothing and personal:										
Gross total of shops	470	484	53	46	17	11	51	54	591	595
Net total of shops	455	478	52	46	17	11	50	52	574	587

[Classes C, D, and E cont. overleaf]

Number of retail shops (cont.)

Class of shop	Oxford		Abingdon		Woodstock		Villages		Total	
	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935	1921	1935
Class C. Furniture and household goods:										
Gross total of shops	357	376	35	30	8	11	36	48	436	465
Net total of shops	317	348	34	28	8	11	36	47	395	434
Class D. Books, sports, and amusements:										
Gross total of shops	217	248	21	25	3	7	19	58	260	338
Net total of shops	187	227	18	25	3	6	19	55	227	313
Class E. Miscellaneous:										
Gross total of shops	203	206	15	19	7	7	91	112	316	344
Net total of shops	203	206	15	19	7	7	91	111	316	343
All classes:										
Gross total of shops	1,972	2,158	237	226	57	68	451	583	2,717	3,035
Net total of shops	1,824	2,043	228	220	56	67	431	558	2,539	2,888

Note 22, p. III.

For most of the villages it was necessary to use the *Directory of Oxfordshire* for 1920, since no directory was published in 1921.

Note 23, p. III.

Each civil parish has been taken as one village; in the few cases where more than one community is included in the civil parish this is an artificial arrangement. Kennington, the 66th civil parish in the Survey Area, was not separated from Radley and North Hinksey until 1936.

Note 24, p. II6.

The villages selected are those on which there were reports in Kelly's *Directory of Oxford*, 1935. They were: Culham, Radley, Wootton, Kidlington, Sandford-on-Thames, Horspath, North Hinksey, Sunningwell, Marston, Littlemore, Forest Hill with Shotover, Cumnor, Yarnton, Begbroke, Thrup, South Hinksey, Gosford and Water Eaton, Eilsfield.

Note 25, p. II7.

The villages in which the inquiry was made were: Drayton, Culham, Sutton Courtenay, Radley, Drayton St. Leonard, Horton-cum-Studley, Islip, Wood Eaton, Noke, Eynsham, Standlake, North Hinksey, South Hinksey, and Wytham.

Drayton, Culham, and Sutton Courtenay have been treated as one village, owing to the similarity of the returns from them; a similar procedure has been adopted for Woodeaton and Noke, and Wytham and the Hinkseys.

Note 26, p. II7.

The commodities specified in the inquiry were: meat, fish, milk, eggs, butter, bread, fruit, vegetables, other groceries. Only regular purchases were taken into account.

Note 27, p. 121.

The figure of 65 for Oxford is based on net totals, in order to conform with Mr. Ford's procedure. A figure exactly comparable with those for the other towns cannot be given as the categories of shops included in Mr. Ford's figures are not given in detail in the article. The figures for these other towns were: Bolton 99·6, Bournemouth 96·5, Cardiff 85·4, Hull 79·4, Portsmouth 72·7, Norwich 69·8, Bradford 69·4, Reading 68·5, Huddersfield 63·9, Southampton 60·0, Poole 55·3, Middlesbrough 49·4.

Note 28, p. 127.

Visits were paid to 31 farmers, and 71 farm workers' households throughout the Survey Area. The average size of the farms which were visited during this investigation was 261 acres, while the average size of all the farms in the Survey Area, as given in the official statistics, was only 108 acres. This suggests that the farms visited are not a representative sample for the Area as a whole. Though this was a sample of about 1 in 35, records were obtained from only 31 out of the 68 parishes in the Area. These parishes were fairly well distributed throughout the Area, but the sample tends to weight the more arable part of the Area, giving too little weight to the north-western sections. These facts must be borne in mind when interpreting the data collected from the houses and farms visited during the inquiry.

Note 29, p. 131.

Part of this apparent decline must be attributed to a change in the method of reporting. In 1920 the reported area of mountain and heath land used for grazing in Oxfordshire, not included in the area under crops and grass, was 1,603 acres; in 1921 the reported area of rough grazings was 4,586 acres. The Ministry of Agriculture believed that a somewhat fuller definition of this type of land, and the use of rather more prominent type in the schedule, had led some farmers to begin to class as rough grazings land which had been previously included under permanent pasture. This apparent change may account for rather under 3,000 acres of the total decline of over 8,000 acres in the agricultural area between 1911 and 1923.

Note 30, p. 138.

The following methods were used in the construction of Table 32. The estimated production in the Survey Area was obtained by multiplying the acreage of crops and number of live stock on agricultural holdings over 1 acre in size in 1933 in the Area, by the average yield in Oxfordshire from 1932-5 for crops and in the East Midland district in 1930-3 for live stock. It is assumed that 80 per cent. of the potatoes and 88 per cent. of the wheat is sold for human consumption, and that 72 per cent. of the wheat sales were obtained as flour. An addition of 13 per cent. for potatoes and 27 per cent. for eggs is made to allow for production on non-agricultural holdings. The estimated consumption in the Survey Area was obtained by multiplying the estimated population of the Survey Area in 1933 (130, 137) by the consumption per head for the United Kingdom as given in Sir John Orr's *Food, Health, and Income* (1936). For milk and milk products the consumption per head is taken from K. A. H. Murray's *Milk Consumption* (1937). The figures for Great Britain were taken from the *Agricultural Register, 1934-35* (Oxford University Agricultural Economics Research Institute). No allowance was made for wheat and potatoes fed to stock.

Note 31, p. 146.

In Oxfordshire, throughout the period 1925-36, the minimum wages were the same winter and summer, but were paid for a 50-hour week in summer and a 48-hour week in winter. Overtime rates, originally fixed at 9*d.* hourly, were reduced to 8*d.* on March 6th, 1932, and raised successively to 8½*d.*, 9*d.*, 9½*d.*, and 10*d.* on February 4th, 1934, May 6th, 1934, March 4th, 1935, and September 27th, 1936.

The rates payable to female workers and male workers under 21 are also regulated by the committee. All female workers over 18 years of age earned 6*d.* per hour throughout the period between 1925 and 1935. Until May 1929 the hours of work of women were not regulated, but since then they have been fixed at the same as for male workers—namely, 48 hours in winter and 50 hours in summer. Work beyond these hours was counted as overtime and was payable at the rate of 7½*d.* per hour on week-days and 9*d.* per hour on Sundays. Since March 1935 the minimum rate for women has been increased to 6½*d.* per hour, while overtime is also paid at ½*d.* per hour more.

The wages of young men and boys under 21 years of age vary according to age. Between 1926 and 1931 they varied from 9*s.* per week for boys aged 14 to 15 to 27*s.* per week for men aged 20 to 21. In 1932 to 1933 the rates were lower, varying from 8*s.* 6*d.* to 25*s.* per week. In 1934 they were restored to the 1926-31 level, and since March 1935 they have risen above that level, in common with the wages paid to other classes of workers. Thus in 1936 the rate varied from 9*s.* 6*d.* for boys aged 14 to 15 to 28*s.* 6*d.* for men of 20 to 21.

Note 32. Chapter IX. Parish Government.

Information about the rates and other factors which have a bearing on parish government is given for each parish in the Survey Area in the following table. Every effort has been made to obtain complete accuracy, but owing to the difficulty of ensuring the reliability of information collected from such a large number of sources the author cannot hold himself responsible for any inaccuracies which occur. Moreover, no attempt has been made to bring the facts up to date; they relate in most cases to the year 1935-6 and are intended to give a picture of the position in the district at that date.

In classifying the parishes into 'purely rural' and 'not purely rural' we have adopted an entirely arbitrary classification, which seemed to us to fit the facts. We have classified as 'purely rural' any parish which in 1935 had either a density of less than 0.25 persons to the acre or a rateable value of less than £1,000. Such parishes do not in general need elaborate sanitary services.

The 'not purely rural' parishes seemed to us to fall into two distinct groups, viz. (a) suburban, e.g. Cumnor and Littlemore; and (b) independent centres, e.g. Eynsham and Dorchester. There is some presumption that the places in both these groups require sanitary services, though this cannot be assumed as a matter of course; it depends on many factors, e.g. geological features.

The rates have been rounded off to the nearest ½*d.*

Parish	Area in acres	Population 1931	Population change 1931-7	Rateable value 1935	Net general rate 1935-6 (exc. special rate)	Council or Meeting	Water supply, 1936 (1935-6 rate)	Public sewage disposal system (1935-6 rate)	Public scavenging service 1936 (1935-6 rate)	Council housing up to 1936	Expenditure of P.C. or P.M. 1935-6	Net special rate for parish 1935-6	Landowner-ship*
<i>Abingdon, purely rural</i>				£	s. d.								
Appleford . .	862	284	dec.	1,527	9 0	C.	Wells	No	Yes, 1d.	8	9d.	..	25%+
Besselsleigh . .	906	61	dec.	362	8 2	None	Oxford City coming	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Draycott Moor . .	1,054	173	dec.	656	8 2	None	"	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Frilford . .	1,147	135	inc.	1,241	8 2	M.	"	No	No	None	2d.	..	25%+
Iyfield . .	1,605	214	stat.	805	8 2	M.	"	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Garford . .	1,068	114	stat.	470	8 2	None	"	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Kingston Bagpuize	1,109	182	dec.	965	8 2	None	"	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Lyford . .	774	131	inc.	196	8 2	None	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Tubney . .	1,141	153	dec.	1,586	8 2	M.	Oxford City coming	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Wytham . .	1,992	204	dec.	1,086	8 2	None	Wells and private piped supply	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
<i>Abingdon, not purely rural</i>													
Appleton with Eaton	2,077	562	inc.	2,219	8 4	C.	Oxford City coming	No	Yes, 1d.	12	1d.	..	25%+
Cumner . .	1,564	847	inc.	8,768	8 2	C.	From Oxford City, 8d.	No	Yes, 2d.	24	1d.	10d.	25%+
Drayton . .	2,604	847	inc.	3,553	8 3	C.	From Sutton Courtenay, 1s. 4d.	No	Yes, 1d.	24	1d.	5d.+	25%+
Marcham . .	2,514	685	dec.	3,336	8 7	C.	Oxford City coming	No	Yes, 3d.	12	2d.	6d.	25%+
Milton . .	1,466	727	dec.	8,649	8 5	C.	From Sutton Courtenay, 1s.	No	Yes, 23d.	8	13d.	4d.+	25%+
North Hinksey . .	1,087	706	inc.	5,667	8 3	C.	From Oxford City, 8d.	No	Yes, 1d.	12	lighting 5d.	9d.	25%+
Rudley . .	3,962	1,088	inc.	11,296	8 3	C.	From Oxford City, 8d.	No	Yes, 2d.	23	13d.	10d.	60%+
St. Ivelen Without	2,047	307	stat.	8,134	8 6	M.	Oxford City coming	No	Yes, 13d.	8	23d.	..	25%+
South Hinksey . .	779	527	inc.	3,838	8 3	C.	From Oxford City, 8d.	No	Yes, 4d.	None	1d., lighting 3d.	1s.	25%+
Steventon . .	2,401	855	inc.	4,223	8 5	C.	From Sutton Courtenay, 1s. 33d.	No	Yes, 13d.	20	4d.	5d.+	25%+
Summingwell . .	1,332	637	inc.	7,522	8 3	C.	From Oxford City, 93d.	No	Yes, 3d.	26	1d.	water 1s.	25%+
Sutton Courtenay . .	2,103	833	inc.	8,141	8 4	C.	Bace hole, 3d.	No	Yes, 1d.	16	2d.	water 6d.	25%+
Woodton . .	1,523	698	inc.	7,532	8 4	C.	From Oxford City, 8d.	No	Yes, 1d.	14	2d.	water 1s.	25%+

Parish	Area in acres	Population 1931	Population change 1931-7	Rateable value 1935	Net general rate 1935-6 (exc. special rate)	Council or Meeting	Water-supply, 1936 (1935-6 rate)	Public sewage disposal system 1936 (1935-6 rate)	Public scavenging service 1936 (1935-6 rate)	Council housing up to 1936	Expenditure of P.C. or P.M. 1935-6	Net R.D.C. special rate for parish 1935-6	Land-owner-ship*
<i>Ploughley, purely rural</i>				£	s. d.								
Begbroke . . .	459	101	dec.	624	8 9	M.	From Oxford City, 6d.	No	No	None	..	6d.	25%+
Hampton Gay and Poyle . . .	1,521	108	stat.	462	8 5	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	8d.	25%+
Horton-cum-Studley . . .	2,237	242	dec.	821	8 11	M.	From Beckley reservoir, 8d.	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Noko . . .	794	93	stat.	325	8 3	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Thrup . . .	666	132	stat.	267	9 4	M.	Wells	No	Yes	None	..	..	25%+
<i>Ploughley, not purely rural</i>													
Gosford and Water Eaton . . .	2,360	273	inc.	1,656	8 9	M.	From Oxford City, 6d.	No	Yes	None	..	6d.	25%+
Islip . . .	2,009	536	inc.	2,400	8 3	C.	Wells and private system	Old sewers, 2d.	Public refuse tip	4	2d.	2d.	60%+
Kidlington . . .	2,395	1,674	inc.	10,341	9 10	C.	From Oxford City, 6d.	Old sewers	Yes, 8 1/2d.	42	1d.	1s. 2d.	25%+
Yarnton . . .	1,762	441	inc.	2,891	9 0	C.	From Oxford City, 6d.	No	Yes, 5d.	4	3d.	11d.	25%—
<i>Witney, purely rural</i>													
Cassington . . .	2,209	390	inc.	1,237	8 8	C.	Wells	No	No	12	4 1/2d.	..	60%+
Northmoor . . .	2,046	241	inc.	792	9 2	C.	Wells	No	No	4	4d.	..	25%—
Standlake . . .	2,606	534	dec.	1,839	9 2	C.	Wells	No	No	4	3d.	..	25%—
Stanton Harcourt . . .	3,394	456	inc.	1,249	9 0	C.	Wells	No	Yes, 6d.	14	2 1/2d.	6d.	60%+
<i>Witney, not purely rural</i>													
Bladon . . .	851	398	stat.	1,057	9 0	C.	From Oxford City, 1d.	Yes, 5 1/2d.	Yes, 1d.	8	2 1/2d.	8d.	60%+
Eynsham . . .	4,469	1,749	inc.	6,567	9 0	C.	Piped supply, tank, wells, 6d.	Yes, 5d.	Yes, 3d.	32	{ 'A' area 5d. 'B' " 1d. }	8d.	60%+
Handborough . . .	3,247	1,127	inc.	3,958	9 4	C.	Coming from Witney	No	No	30	5d.	..	60%+
<i>Bullington, purely rural</i>													
Beckley and Stoodwood . . .	2,271	324	inc.	1,036	9 5	C.	Wells, 1d.	No	No	None	5d.	..	25%+
Clifton Hampden . . .	1,924	491	dec.	2,279	9 0	C.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Culham . . .	2,051	444	stat.	1,792	9 0	C.	Wells and private system	No	No	None	..	..	60%+

Denton	845	140	stat.	613	9 0	M.	Wells and private system	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Drayton St. Leonard	1,302	219	inc.	843	9 5	M.	Wells	No	Yes, 5d.	10	..	..	25%+
Elsfield	1,296	163	inc.	548	9 0	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Holton	1,717	219	dec.	1,282	9 0	C.	From Oxford City, 1s. 4d.	No	No	None	..	1s. 4d.	25%+
Marsh Baldon	1,283	287	inc.	720	9 0	M.	Wells	No	No	4	..	..	25%+
Nunham Courtenay	2,108	290	inc.	1,473	9 0	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Stanton St. John	2,734	443	inc.	1,416	8 10	C.	Wells and private ram	No	No	14	..	..	60%+
Thornley	564	11	stat.	28	9 1	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
Toot Baldon	1,111	188	stat.	397	9 0	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Waterperry	1,936	125	stat.	383	9 2	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Wood Eaton	788	75	stat.	493	9 0	M.	Wells	No	No	None	..	..	25%+
<i>Bullington, not purely rural</i>													
Cuddesdon	970	284	inc.	1,483	9 3	C.	Wells	No	Yes, 2d.	4	1d.	..	60%+
Dorchester	1,054	774	inc.	2,912	9 5	C.	Piped supply provided by R.D.C.	Yes, 1d.	Yes, 2d.	20	5d.	4d.	25%+
Forest Hill with Shotover	2,025	575	inc.	5,151	9 2	C.	and Oxford City (Sandhills)	Yes, 4d.	Yes, 3d.	None	2d.	7d.	25%+
Garsington	2,233	744	inc.	2,666	8 10	C.	Piped supply, 2s. 5d.	No	No	6	..	2s. 2d.	25%+
Horspath	1,281	540	inc.	2,277	9 1	C.	Piped supply	No	Yes, 2d.	4	..	..	25%+
Littlemore	1,038	2,387	inc.	13,677	9 0	C.	From Oxford City, 2d.	Yes, 1s. 2d.	Yes, 2d.	42	2d.	1s. 6d.	25%+
Marston	1,011	405	inc.	1,768	8 11	C.	From Oxford City, 1s. 8d.	Yes, 1s.	Yes, 4d.	16	2d.	2s. 4d.	25%+
Sandford-on-Thames	1,005	426	inc.	1,625	9 0	M.	From Oxford City, 10d.	No	No	16	..	10d.	25%+
Stadthampton	2,426	561	inc.	1,512	9 0	C.	Private system	No	Yes (delegated to P.C. by R.D.C.)	6	..	..	25%+
Wheatley	1,003	1,268	inc.	5,052	9 0	C.	From Oxford City, 1s.	Yes, 8d.	Yes, 2d.	54	2d.	1s. 6d.	25%+
<i>Chipping Norton, purely rural</i>													
Blenheim Park	2,270	109	stat.	1,104	4 7	M.	Wells and private system	No	No	None	..	..	60%+
Hersington Without	560	375	inc.	1,248	4 6	M.	Oxford City coming	Yes	Yes	38	..	..	60%+

* The figures in this column show what percentage of the land in a parish is in the hands of a single owner. 60%+ = 60% or more, 25%+ = 25% but less than 60%, 25%+ = less than 25%. (See also Appendix VI.)

Note 33. Chapter X.

TABLE A

Survey Area: consolidated account of expenditure on income account, 1937-6, by local authorities

Group of Services	Oxford C.B.	Berks C.C. (part)	Oxon C.C. (part)	Abingdon M.B.	Woodstock M.H.	Abingdon R.D.	Bullington R.D. (part)	Chipping Norton R.D. (part)	Ploughley R.D. (part)	Witney R.D. (part)	Total for Survey Area	% of total
1. Education	£ 187,270	£ 35,785	£ 49,317	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ 272,372	22.00
2. Libraries and museums	5,711	127	381	614	23	..	..	..	..	..	6,876	0.56
3. Public health	101,104	3,126	3,985	6,669	527	2,371	2,985	143	1,009	1,335	123,254	9.95
4. Poor relief	56,431	19,858	20,350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	96,639	7.81
5. Mental hospitals and mental deficiency	11,262	2,102	1,104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,468	1.17
6. Housing and small dwellings acquisition	78,094	..	475	11,034	1,493	6,840	13,015	394	1,880	2,610	115,835	9.34
7. Agriculture, smallholdings, and land drainage	4,282	1,638	4,452	272	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,644	0.86
8. Roads and lighting	117,401	35,995	44,550	4,176	410	..	46	..	..	..	202,548	16.36
9. Police and justice	47,329	12,925	11,824	233	..	..	..	..	..	..	72,511	5.86
10. Explosives regulations	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Inspection of shops	604	240	264	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,108	0.09
10. Weights and measures	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Registration of births, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Cost of local elections	2,950	363	800	35	16	183	..	1	10	24	4,382	0.35
12. Valuation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Rate collection	5,854	776	781	670	115	1,081	728	41	435	596	11,077	0.90
12. Assessment	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Collection of motor taxes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. General administrative and legal and parliamentary expenses	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14. Other non-trading services	31,568	1,565	2,860	3,201	217	3,669	1,362	35	394	336	45,216	3.65
15. Water-supply	10,476	171	326	807	63	41	220	6	56	77	21,243	1.72
16. Electricity	46,803	..	..	3,004	210	1,419	750	22	445	463	53,176	4.29
17. Markets	152,982	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	152,982	12.36
17. Cemeteries	5,364	..	..	827	1	..	..	..	..	..	6,192	0.50
18. Cemeteries	..	..	..	..	61	..	..	..	..	..	4,809	0.40
19. Corporation estates	4,109	..	..	729	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,838	0.40
20. Trust and other special funds	20,107	..	..	780	680	..	..	..	..	..	21,567	1.74
20. Rates paid under precept to parishes	1,104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,104	0.09
21. Rates paid under precept to parishes	..	..	..	..	..	529	146	..	99	172	946	..
22. Total of items 1-20	900,025	114,641	141,478	33,111	3,816	15,604	19,106	642	4,229	5,441	1,238,093	100.00

TABLE B

*Survey Area: consolidated account of expenditure on income account, 1913-14,
by local authorities*

Group of Services	Oxford C.B.	Berks. C.C. (part)	Oxon. C.C. (part)	Abing- don M.B.	Wood- stock M.B.	Abing- don R.D.	Oxon. R.D.'s and U.D.	Total for Survey Area	% of grand total
<i>A. General Authorities</i>	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1. Education . . .	44,086	10,410	16,640	..	..	..	..	71,136	25.43
2. Libraries and mu- seums† . . .	1,927	..	..	162	8	..	..	2,097	0.75
3. Public health† . .	11,489	..	..	3,611	29	985	1,937	18,051	6.45
4. Mental hospitals† .	1,135	180	444	..	..	..	..	1,759	0.63
5. Smallholdings† . .	..	356	764	..	..	..	..	1,120	0.40
6. Roads & lighting† .	27,569	8,450	8,281	2,488	177	4,602	6,285	57,822	20.66
7. Police & justice† . .	11,161	5,250	4,354	146	..	..	..	20,911	7.48
8. Administration and establishment† . . .	3,196	587	707	104	227	417	1,201	6,439	2.30
9. Other non-trading services† . . .	13,153	485	426	2,234	234	77	161	16,770	6.00
10. Water supply . . .	12,036	..	..	1,393	..	37	182	13,643	4.88
11. Markets† . . .	1,142	..	..	140	50	..	..	1,332	0.48
12. Loan charges on services other than education and water . . .	23,563	2,133	1,376	150	21	48	1,900	29,191	10.44
13. Total of items 1-12	150,457	27,851	32,962	10,428	746	6,165	11,666	240,276	85.90
<i>B. Poor Law Guardians</i>	<i>Oxford C.B.</i>	<i>Berks.*</i>	<i>Oxon.</i>						
14. Poor relief . . .	20,576	7,710	7,575	..	..	..	..	35,861	12.81
15. Registration, vac- cination, valua- tion, &c. . . .	897	442	413	..	..	..	..	1,752	0.63
<i>C. Overseers</i>									
16. Registration of elec- tors	329	869	645	..	..	..	..	1,843	0.66
17. Grand Total . . .	172,259	36,872	41,595	10,428	746	6,166	11,666	279,732	100.00
† Excluding loan charges. Total loan charges were:	29,902	2,197	1,876	150	21	543	1,900	36,589	13.08

* Including a part of Oxon.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF CIVIL PARISHES IN THE SURVEY AREA

*(Excluding Oxford County Borough and Abingdon and Woodstock
Municipal Boroughs)*

B. Appleford	P. Kidlington
B. Appleton with Eaton	B. Kingston Bagpuize
Bull. Beckley and Stowood	Bull. Littlemore
P. Begbroke	B. Lyford
B. Besselsleigh	B. Marcham
W. Bladon	Bull. Marsh Baldon
C.N. Blenheim Park	Bull. Marston
W. Cassington	B. Milton
Bull. Clifton Hampden	P. Noke
Bull. Cuddesdon	B. North Hinksey
Bull. Culham	W. Northmoor
B. Cumnor	Bull. Nuneham Courtenay
Bull. Denton	B. Radley
Bull. Dorchester	B. St. Helen Without
B. Draycott Moor	Bull. Sandford-on-Thames
B. Drayton	B. South Hinksey
Bull. Drayton St. Leonard	Bull. Stadhampton
Bull. Elsfeld	W. Standlake
W. Eynsham	W. Stanton Harcourt
Bull. Forest Hill with Shotover	Bull. Stanton St. John
B. Frilford	B. Steventon
B. Fyfield	B. Sunningwell
B. Garford	B. Sutton Courtenay
Bull. Garsington	Bull. Thomley
P. Gosford and Water Eaton	P. Thrup
P. Hampton Gay and Poyle	Bull. Toot Baldon
W. Handborough	B. Tubney
C.N. Hensington Without	Bull. Waterperry
Bull. Holton	Bull. Wheatley
Bull. Horspath	Bull. Woodeaton
P. Horton-cum-Studley	B. Wootton
P. Islip	B. Wytham
B. Kennington	P. Yarnton

Notes

B. before the Parish denotes that it is in Berkshire. Those Parishes not marked with B. are in Oxfordshire.

P. Ploughley Rural District	C.N. Chipping Norton Rural District
W. Witney Rural District	Bull. Bullingdon Rural District

All the Berkshire Parishes are in Abingdon Rural District.

APPENDIX III

A NOTE ON CHANGES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS
IN THE SURVEY AREA, 1911-37

CHANGES of the areas of local government have been numerous and complicated in the Survey Area. They are interesting in themselves, in that they represent attempts to adjust local government institutions in the Area to the changes which have taken place in the distribution of its population, and also, to some extent, to the changes in the functions of local authorities. They are also important because they often make comparison of population and other statistics over time difficult or complicated. It therefore seems worth while to summarize the changes which have taken place since 1911, in the order of their occurrence.

- I. April 1st, 1926. Oxford County Borough. Internal changes: former civil parishes merged into two larger units, viz. Oxford Civil Parish, and St. Giles and St. John Civil Parish.
- II. April 1st, 1927. Headington Civil Parish detached from Headington Rural District, to form Headington Urban District.
- III. April 1st, 1929. Under the Oxford Extension Act:
 - (a) Extension of boundary of Oxford C.B. to include:

	<i>Population</i>		<i>Acres</i>
	<i>1911</i>	<i>1921</i>	
Headington U.D. (part)	4,469	5,309	1,529
Cowley C.P.	2,510	2,790	909
Marston C.P. (part)	357	379	216
Iffley C.P. (part)	357	404	237
Water Eaton C.P. (part)	4	6	101
Cuttleslowe C.P. (part)	1,285	36	92
Wolvercote C.P. (part)		1,330	613
Total	8,962	10,254	3,697

- (b) Elsfield, Stowood, Forest Hill with Shotover, and Horspath C.P.s enlarged by those parts of Headington U.D. which were not transferred to Oxford.
- (c) Littlemore C.P. extended to include parts of Iffley C.P. not transferred to Oxford.
- (d) Cuttleslowe C.P. extended to include those parts of Wolvercote not transferred to Oxford, and a detached part of Water Eaton.
- IV. April 1st, 1932. Oxfordshire Review Order. A reorganization of rural district areas, involving the creation of the new rural districts of Ploughley and Bullingdon, and alterations of the boundaries of the existing rural districts of Witney and Chipping Norton. The rural districts of Bicester, Crowmarsh, Culham, Headington, Thame, and Woodstock, lying wholly or in part within the Survey Area, were abolished. There were also boundary alterations and amalgamations among the rural parishes, which had the effect of reducing the number of Oxfordshire parishes lying wholly in the Survey Area from 52 to 42.

V. April 1st, 1934. Berkshire Review Order.

(a) Extension of the boundary of Abingdon Municipal Borough to include:

	<i>Population</i>			<i>Acreage</i>
	<i>1911</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1931</i>	
Radley C.P. (part) . . . . .	..	2	3	12
St. Helen Without C.P. (part)	139	169	455	428
Sutton Wick C.P. (part)	81	133	130	545
Total	220	304	588	985

(b) Abolition of the parish of Sutton Wick, and various alterations of boundaries of parishes within Abingdon R.D.

VI. April 1st, 1936. Creation of the new C.P. of Kennington from parts of Radley and South Hinksey parishes. Estimated population, April 1st, 1937, 1,054.

APPENDIX IV

THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS
EMPLOYED BY MORRIS MOTORS LTD. IN THEIR
COWLEY AND RADIATOR WORKS, AND BY THE
PRESSED STEEL COMPANY

By A. PLUMMER

FROM figures kindly supplied by Morris Motors Ltd. and the Pressed Steel Company Ltd. it has been possible to trace and examine the residential distribution of the workers employed in the Morris and the Pressed Steel Works at Cowley, and the Morris Radiator Works in the Woodstock Road, Oxford, and to place the results alongside comparable statistics relating to 1931, published in *Regional Planning Report on Oxfordshire* by Mayo, Adshead, and Abercrombie (1931).

The inquiry of 1931 gave the total number of Morris and Pressed Steel workers as 6,124. By 1936 the number covered by our similar inquiry had reached 10,200; an increase of 4,076, or nearly 67 per cent., in a little over five years. In 1931, 4,278, or about 70 per cent., of these workers lived in 'Oxford itself' (which includes Cowley, Summertown, Botley, and Hinksey); by 1936, although the proportion had fallen to 60 per cent., the number was 6,148, an increase of 43 per cent. over 1931. But to-day Headington, Littlemore, Marston, Iffley, Cumnor, Kennington, Wolvercote, Horspath, and Boars Hill are no longer satellite villages, but closely linked suburbs of Oxford, and the change is reflected in the numbers of Morris and Pressed Steel workers residing in those places.

	1931	1936
Headington	298	1,102
Littlemore	89	143
Iffley	16	131
Marston	6	78
Horspath	35	82
Kennington	5	35
Wolvercote	21	28
Cumnor	3	17
Boars Hill . . . . .	..	11
Total	473	1,627

For our group of satellite villages we must now look a little farther, to villages like Kidlington, Islip, and Eynsham, for example, or Stadhampton, Wheatley, and Great Milton—most of them within six or seven miles of Oxford. The statistics for a group of twenty-one such villages are shown overleaf:

Appendix IV

	1931	1936
Kidlington	35	128
Wheatley	83	117
Garsington	103	107
Eynsham	27	92
Stadhampton	18	63
Great Milton	19	43
Toot Baldon and Marsh Baldon	18	34
Forest Hill with Shotover	7	33
Beckley and Stowood	7	32
Sandford-on-Thames	17	31
Islip	4	29
Bladon	2	26
Cuddesdon	33	26
Stanton St. John	6	24
Chiselhampton	9	22
Bletchington . . . . .	..	21
Wootton (Berks.)	3	18
Radley . . . . .	..	18
Yarnton	1	11
Clifton Hampden . . . . .	..	10
Begbroke . . . . .	..	8
Total	392	893

If, however, we go to the large villages and small towns lying between seven and fifteen miles from Oxford, we find that although there is an absolute increase, the *rate of increase* for the group suffers a marked drop compared with the rates for the two preceding groups.

	1931	1936
Abingdon	242	286
Witney	112	123
Woodstock	47	71
Wallingford	32	42
Watlington	19	36
Bicester	24	34
Thame	48	31
Dorchester	13	28
Drayton	1	27
Benson	21	24
Warborough	1	23
Chalgrove	10	20
Long Crendon	3	11
Long Handborough	5	9
Wantage	5	9
Minster Lovell . . . . .	..	8
Charlbury	11	2
Total	594	784

The 'large numbers coming twenty or thirty miles to work from the big towns on the fringes of Oxfordshire and in the neighbouring counties'¹ are still

¹ *Regional Planning Report*, p. 10.

APPENDIX V

BRANCH SHOPS

AN analysis of the number of branch shops in the Survey Area was made in order to see whether the new centres of population were served by branches of retail shops already established in the centre of the town or whether they were supplied by new enterprises.

Shops owned by firms operating also in places outside the Area were counted as main shops, not as branches, unless there was more than one such shop in the Area, when one was counted as the main shop and the rest as its branches.

The number of branches is small compared with the number of main shops. In 1935 there were 2,685 main shops and 203 branches. The increase in the number of branches since 1921 was 16 per cent., only slightly more than the percentage, 14, by which main shops increased.

When the component parts of the Area were considered separately Oxford was found to have much the largest proportion of branches to main shops. The number of shops in the villages with branches was negligible: there were in 1935 only 9 branches as against 549 main shops. Large-scale enterprise in village shops was, therefore, non-existent. Fourteen of these village main shops were branches of urban shops.¹ This was only 6 more than there were in 1921, so that it seems as if town shops rely upon their delivery services for serving their rural customers rather than upon opening branches.

Oxford, in 1935, had 170 branch shops and 1,873 main shops. This was an increase of 15 per cent. in the number of branches since 1921 and 12 per cent. in the number of main shops. The biggest increases in the number of branches were in the Cowley and Iffley and Headington wards, but even there the number of branch shops in 1935 was inconsiderable compared with the number of main shops. Moreover, the proportion of branch shops to main shops was slightly higher in the old wards than in the new. Evidently new enterprise has been almost entirely responsible for the establishment of shops in the newly populated areas.

¹ There were, in the whole Area, 17 shops which were branches of shops in other divisions of the Area. In the figures for the whole Area they are counted as branch shops, in those for each division as main shops.

APPENDIX VI

LANDOWNERSHIP IN THE VILLAGES IN THE SURVEY AREA

(1) *Parishes in which 60 per cent. or more of the land is in the hands of one owner.*

Besselsleigh	Eynsham	Radley
Bladon	Fyfield	Stanton Harcourt
Blenheim Park	Handborough	Stanton St. John
Cassington	Hensington Without	Toot Baldon
Clifton Hampden	Horton-cum-Studley	Waterperry
Cuddesdon	Islip	Wytham
Culham	Kingston Bagpuize	
Elsfield	Nuneham Courtenay	

(2) *Parishes in which 25 per cent. or more, but less than 60 per cent., of the land is in the hands of one owner.*

Appleford	Hampton Gay and Poyle	South Hinksey
Appleton with Eaton	Kennington	Stadhampton
Beckley and Stowood	Kidlington	Steventon
Begbroke	Lyford	Thomley
Denton	Marcham	Thrup
Dorchester	Marsh Baldon	Tubney
Draycott Moor	Noke	Woodeaton
Drayton	North Hinksey	Wootton
Garford	St. Helen Without	
Gosford and Water Eaton	Sandford-on-Thames	

(3) *Parishes in which less than 25 per cent. of the land is in the hands of one owner.*

Cumnor	Horspath	Sunningwell
Drayton St. Leonard	Littlemore	Sutton Courtenay
Forest Hill with Shotover	Marston	Wheatley
Frilford	Milton	Yarnton
Garsington	Northmoor	
Holton	Standlake	

APPENDIX VII
AREAS OF ADMINISTRATION

THE maps which follow show the areas which have been adopted for a variety of administrative purposes. In each of them the outline of the Survey Area is marked with a strong black line and the outlines of the County of Oxfordshire and of Oxford County Borough with broken lines.

In almost all cases the areas adopted within the whole of Oxfordshire are shown, but no attempt is made to present more than the northern part of Berkshire.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES

KEY

1. Banbury Rural District
2. Chipping Norton Rural District
3. Ploughley Rural District
4. Witney Rural District
5. Abingdon Rural District (B)
6. Bullingdon Rural District
7. Faringdon Rural District (B)
8. Wantage Rural District (B)
9. Wallingford Rural District (B)
10. Henley Rural District
11. Bicester Urban District
12. Witney Urban District
13. Thame Urban District
14. Wantage Urban District (B)
15. Banbury Municipal Borough
16. Chipping Norton Municipal Borough
17. Woodstock Municipal Borough
18. Abingdon Municipal Borough (B)
19. Wallingford Municipal Borough (B)
20. Henley Municipal Borough
21. Oxford County Borough

(B) signifies within Berkshire.

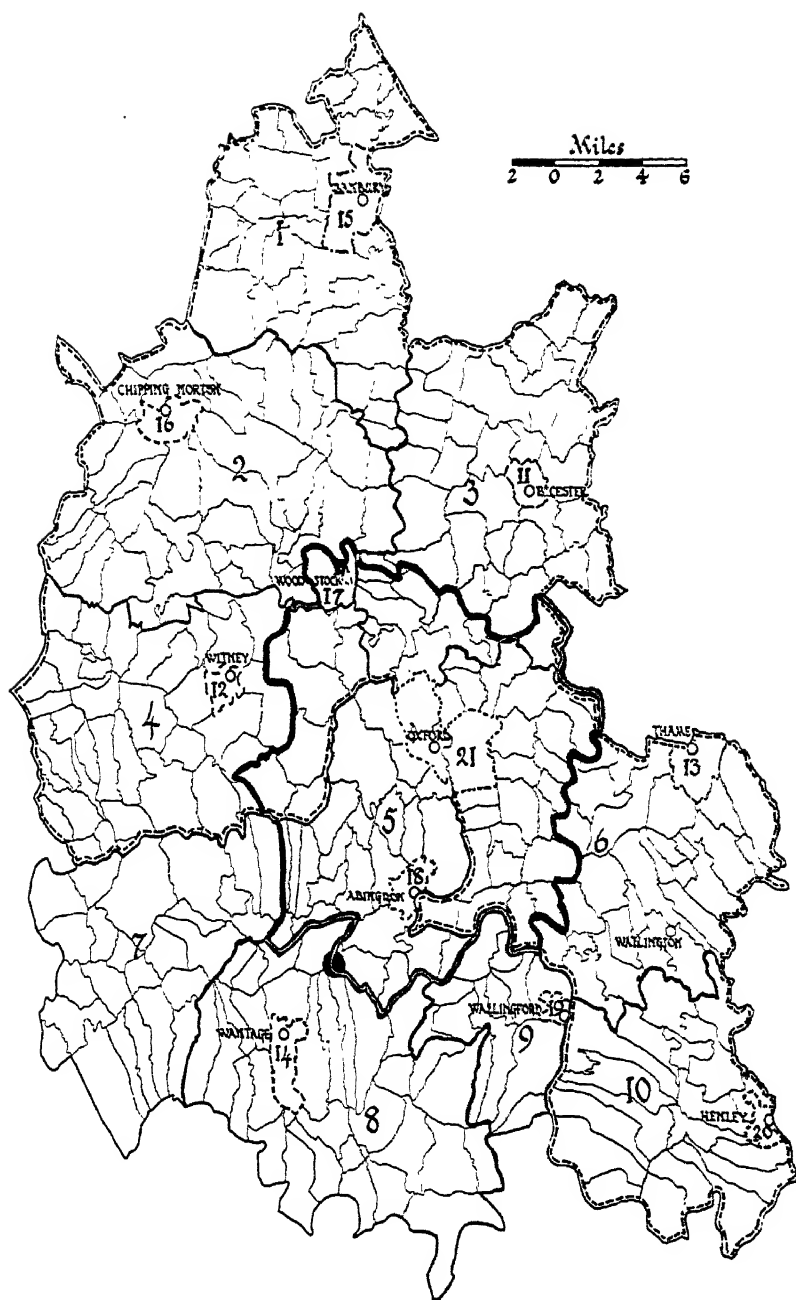


FIG. 41.

DISTRICT VALUATION AREAS

KEY

1. Area administered from Oxford
2. Area administered from Reading

For the purpose of district valuation the county boundary is followed with only a few minor modifications; an exchange has been made which groups twelve parishes in North Berkshire (all within Abingdon R.D.) and Abingdon Borough with Oxfordshire, to be administered from Oxford. Eight parishes in the Henley R.D. and Henley Borough have been grouped with Berkshire to be administered from Reading, and the parishes of Chinnor and Towersey are grouped with Buckinghamshire. Oxford and Reading County Boroughs are included for this purpose with their respective counties.

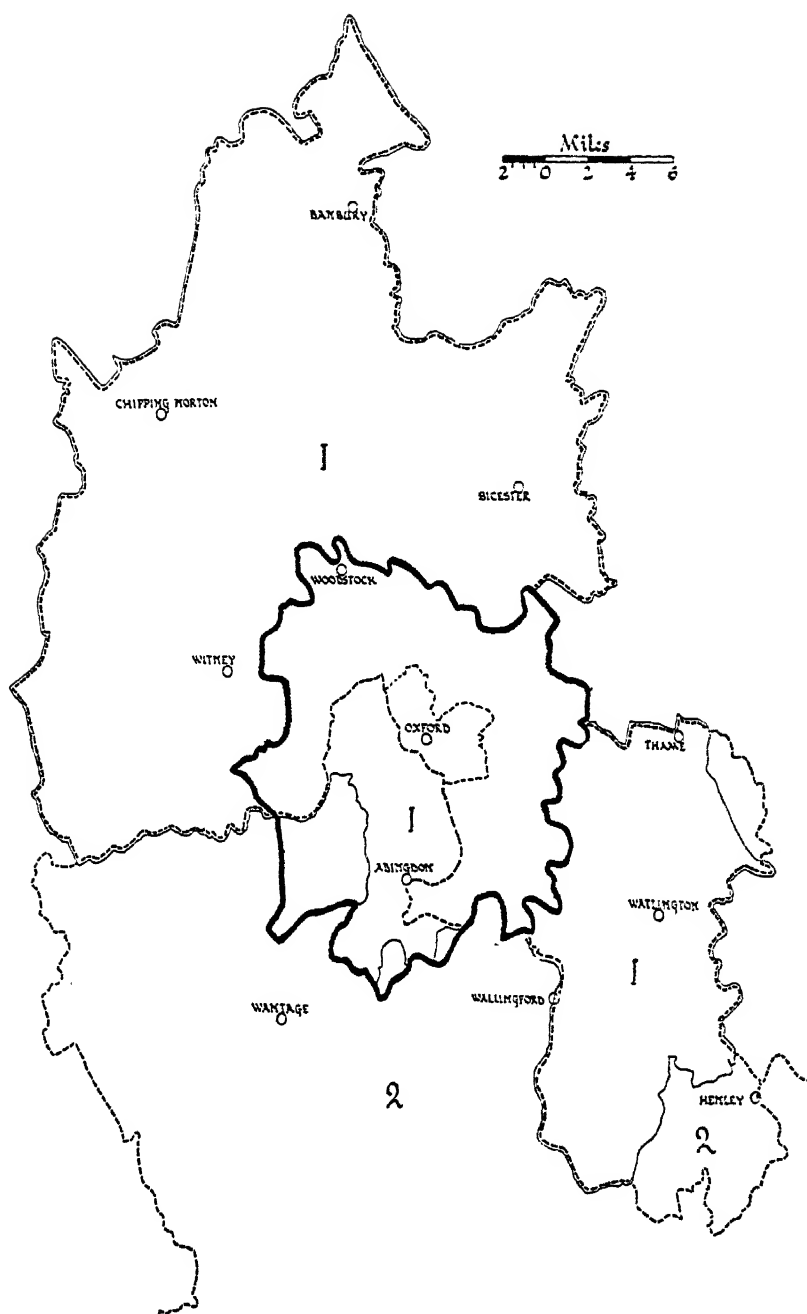


FIG. 42.

OXFORD EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE AREAS

KEY

1. Hook Norton Outhouse
2. Chipping Norton Branch Employment Office
3. Charlbury Outhouse
4. Woodstock Branch Employment Office
5. Bicester Branch Employment Office
6. Brill Local Agency
7. Burford Local Agency
8. Witney Employment Office
9. Eynsham Local Agency
10. Oxford Employment Exchange Area
11. Wheatley Outhouse
12. Thame Branch Employment Office
13. Bampton Local Agency
14. Abingdon Branch Employment Office
15. Stadhampton Local Agency
16. Watlington Local Agency
17. Checkendon Local Agency
18. Henley-on-Thames Branch Employment Office

All the areas shown on this map are controlled by the parent exchange at Oxford.

These areas are not conterminous with the county, nor are the divisions related closely to any local government district, although in most cases the parish boundaries are respected. Four parishes in the north part of Abingdon R.D. are included within the Exchange Area of Oxford City, the limits of which extend beyond the city boundary in all directions except the east.

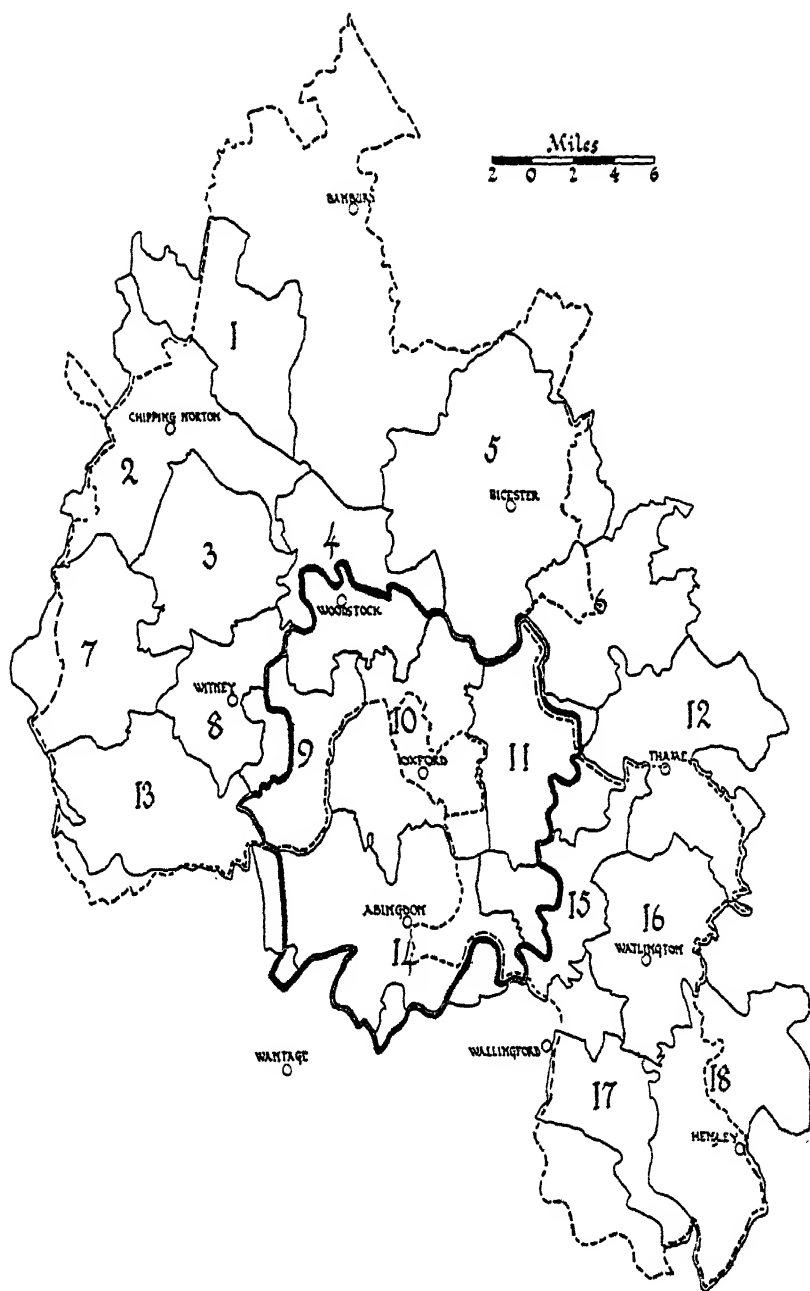


FIG. 43.

INCOME TAX COMMISSIONERS' DIVISIONS

KEY

1. Banbury Borough
2. Bloxham and Banbury
3. Chadlington
4. Wootton
5. Ploughley
6. Bampton
7. Abingdon (B)
8. Oxford County Borough
9. Oxford University
10. Bullingdon
11. Watlington (B)
12. Faringdon (B)
13. Wantage (B)
14. Moreton (B)
15. Henley

The areas controlled by the Income Tax Commissioners are based upon the county boundaries with the following exceptions:

- (a) Two parishes (Stokenchurch and Kingsey), now in Buckinghamshire, are included within the Oxfordshire area, whereas Towersey, now in Oxfordshire, is in the Buckinghamshire area.
- (b) Two parishes (Langford and Little Faringdon) in Oxfordshire are dealt with as if they were in Berkshire.
- (c) The whole of Oxford east of Magdalen Bridge is dealt with as part of the Bullingdon division of Oxfordshire.

Within the counties the boundaries of the present rural districts are followed with a number of modifications. The line of the Cherwell which now divides Ploughley R.D. from Banbury and Chipping Norton R.D.s is followed for most of its course as the dividing line between the Commissioners' Divisions of Ploughley and Wootton.

(B) signifies within Berkshire.

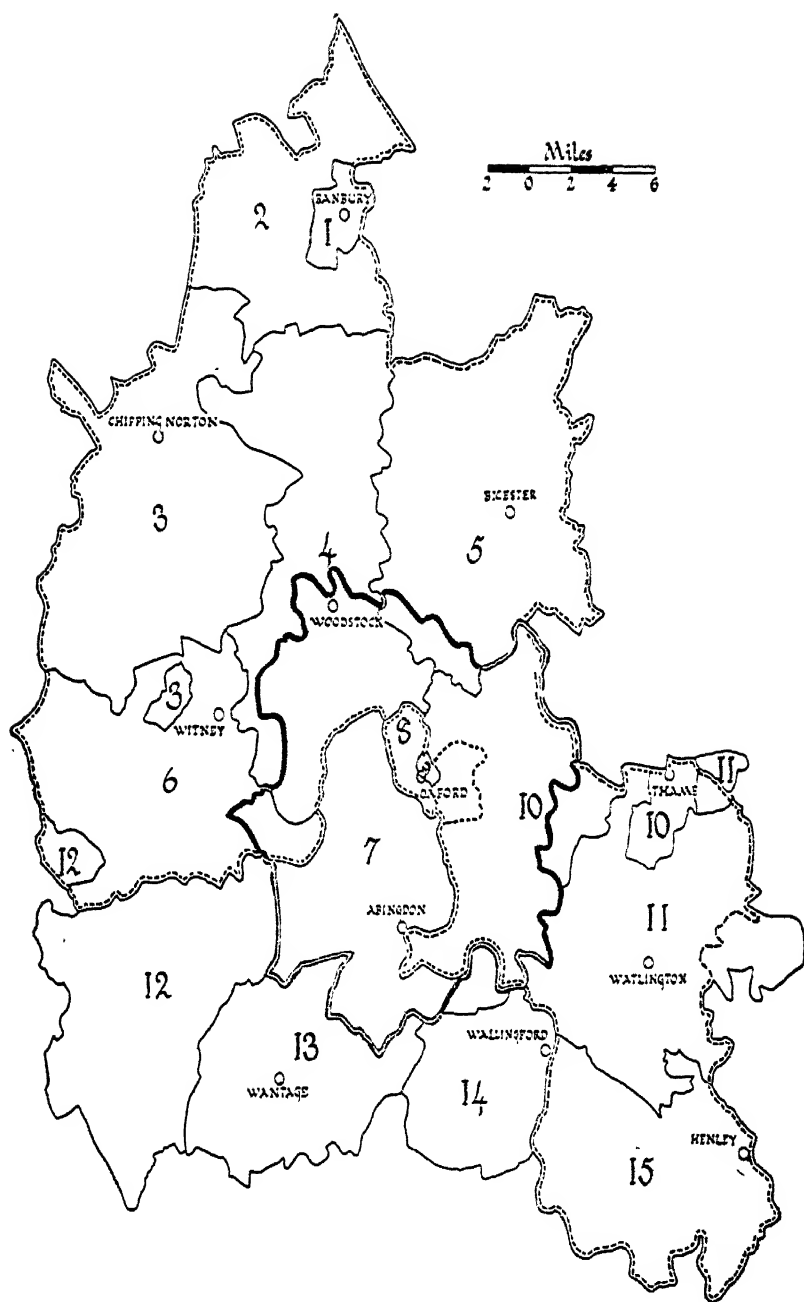


FIG. 44.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS

KEY

1. Banbury County Division
2. Oxford Parliamentary Borough
3. Henley County Division
4. Abingdon County Division (B)

For the purpose of parliamentary elections the county is divided into two parts, and two recent changes in the county boundary—the exchange of Kingsey for Towersey and the extension of the city boundary—are ignored.

(B) signifies within Berkshire.

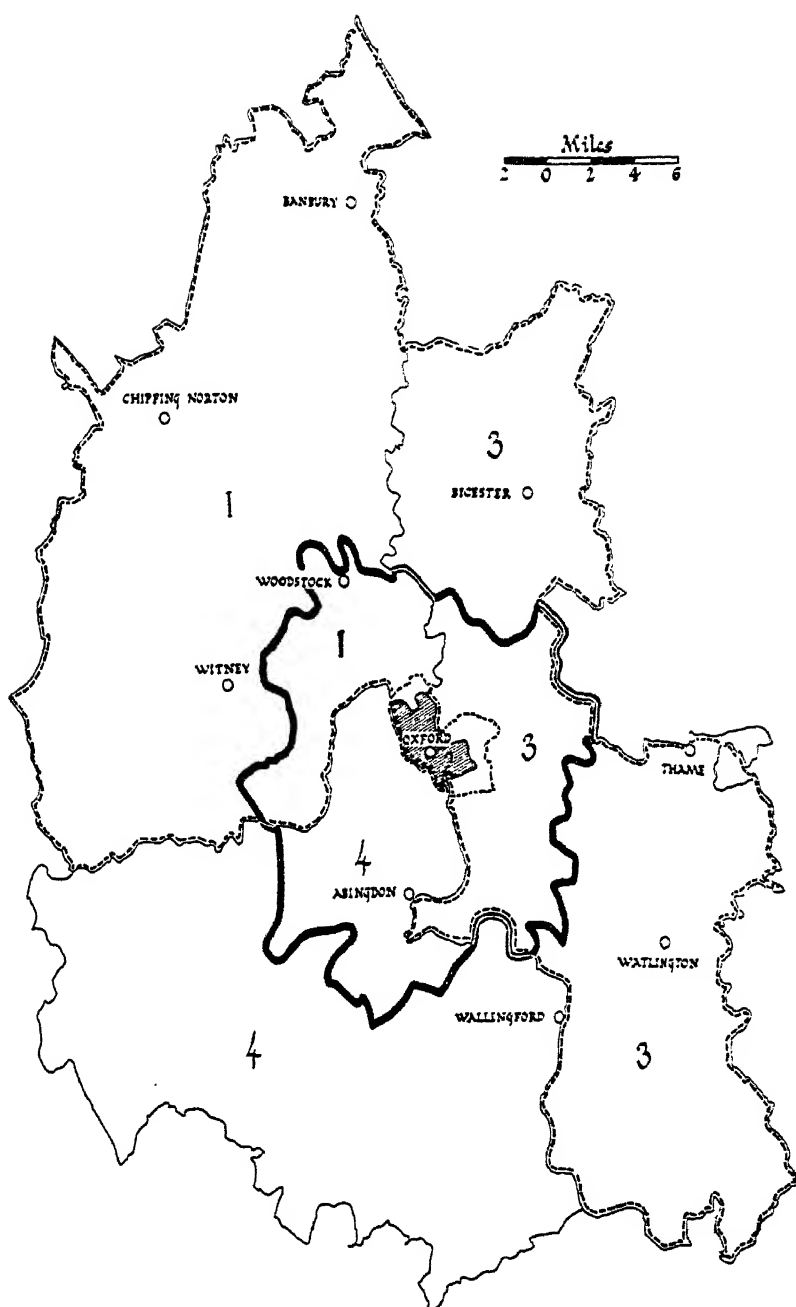


FIG. 45.

POSTAL AREAS

KEY

1. Area controlled by the Head Postmaster of Oxford
2. Area controlled by the Head Postmaster of Abingdon

The Oxford area is very roughly based on the county boundary, leaving out the greater part of Banbury and Henley R.D.s, and the extremities to the west, south-west, north-east, and east of Chipping Norton, Witney, Ploughley, and Bullingdon R.D.s respectively. It also includes four parishes and parts of three others from Abingdon R.D.

The area controlled by the Head Postmaster of Abingdon is very much smaller than the Oxford area: it includes parts of Wantage and Wallingford R.D.s, the remainder of Abingdon R.D., and one parish and parts of three others in Oxfordshire. It is to be noted that for this administrative purpose parish boundaries are ignored.

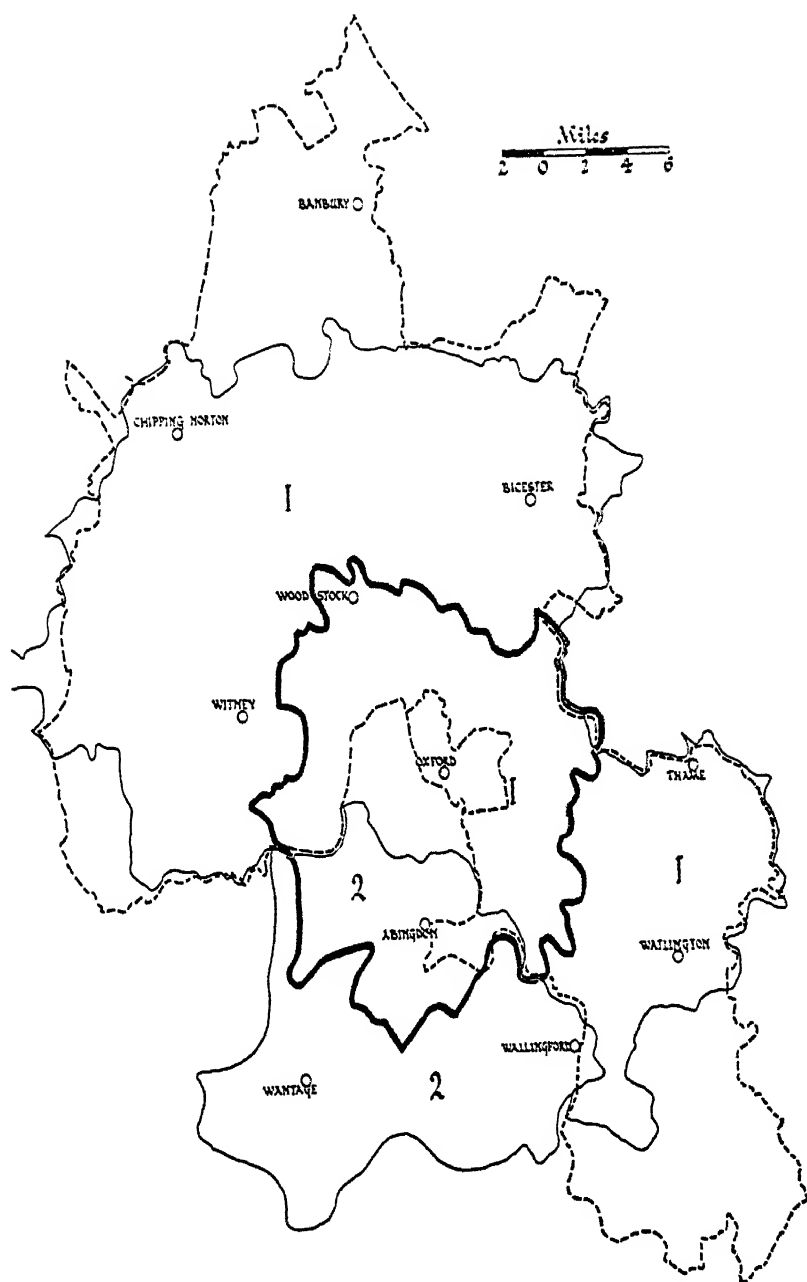


FIG. 46.

COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS

KEY

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Cropredy | comprising 7 wards and the |
| 2. Wroxton | university ward) |
| 3. Banbury (comprising five | 29. Stanton St. John |
| divisions of the borough of | 30. Great Milton and Wheatley |
| Banbury) | 31. Thame |
| 4. Hook Norton | 32. Tetworth |
| 5. Bloxham | 33. Shrivenham (B) |
| 6. Deddington | 34. Faringdon (B) |
| 7. Kingham | 35. Stanford (B) |
| 8. Chipping Norton | 36. Marcham (B) |
| 9. Enstone | 37. Abingdon (East and West) |
| 10. Barton | (B) |
| 11. Heyford | 38. Littlemore |
| 12. Fringford | 39. Dorchester |
| 13. Wychwood | 40. Benson |
| 14. Charlbury | 41. Watlington |
| 15. Woodstock | 42. Uffington (B) |
| 16. Bletchington | 43. Challow (B) |
| 17. Bicester | 44. Wantage (B) |
| 18. Launton | 45. Hendred (B) |
| 19. Burford | 46. Drayton (B) |
| 20. Ducklington | 47. Moreton (B) |
| 21. Handborough | 48. Cholsey (B) |
| 22. Kidlington | 49. Crowmarsh |
| 23. Broadwell | 50. Nettlebed |
| 24. Bampton | 51. Goring |
| 25. Witney (North and South) | 52. Mapledurham |
| 26. Eynsham and Standlake | 53. Eye and Dunsden |
| 27. Cumnor (B) | 54. Henley (North and South) |
| 28. Oxford (County Borough | 55. Shiplake |

These areas are divisions of the counties; the boundaries of the rural districts are followed, and the urban districts and municipal boroughs form separate units. Within the rural districts the parishes are grouped together, with an average, for Oxfordshire, of seven parishes per group, for Berkshire of five.

The size of the group, and the number of parishes, vary considerably: thus division 55, of two parishes, should be compared with division 9, of eight parishes, or with division 18, with eleven parishes: again, in Berkshire, division 34 has two parishes, and division 36 has eleven parishes.

(B) Signifies within Berkshire.

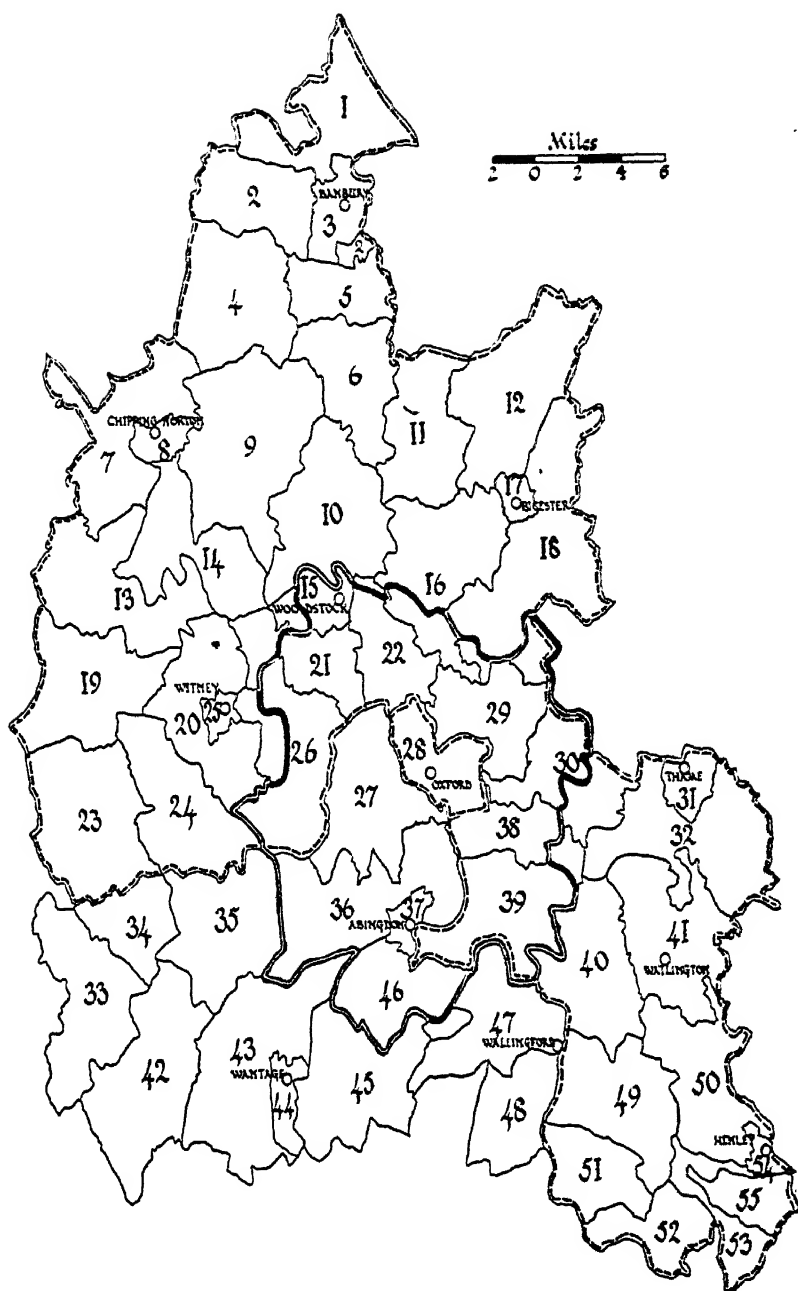


FIG. 47.

PLANNING AREAS

KEY

1. Banbury and District Joint Regional Planning Scheme
2. Chipping Norton and District and Woodstock Joint Regional Planning Scheme
3. A resolution to prepare a Planning Scheme for this area is under discussion
4. Witney and District Joint Town Planning Scheme
5. City of Oxford Regional Town Planning Scheme
6. Mid-Oxfordshire Joint Regional Planning Scheme
7. Thame and District Joint Regional Planning Scheme
8. North Berkshire Joint Regional Planning Scheme
9. South Oxfordshire Joint Regional Planning Scheme

The Planning Areas in Oxfordshire correspond in four cases (i.e. Banbury, Chipping Norton, Witney, South Oxfordshire) to the rural districts with the addition of the appropriate municipal borough or urban district. Ten parishes from Ploughley R.D. together with about half Bullingdon R.D. form the Mid-Oxfordshire Planning Area.

The City of Oxford Planning Area comprises, besides the city, the parish of Marston, and parts of Elsfield, Beckley, Littlemore, the two Hinkseys, and parts of five other parishes from the Abingdon R.D.

The whole of the rural districts of Faringdon, Wantage, Wallingford, and the remainder of Abingdon, with the appropriate municipal boroughs and the urban district of Wantage, comprise the North Berkshire Planning Area.

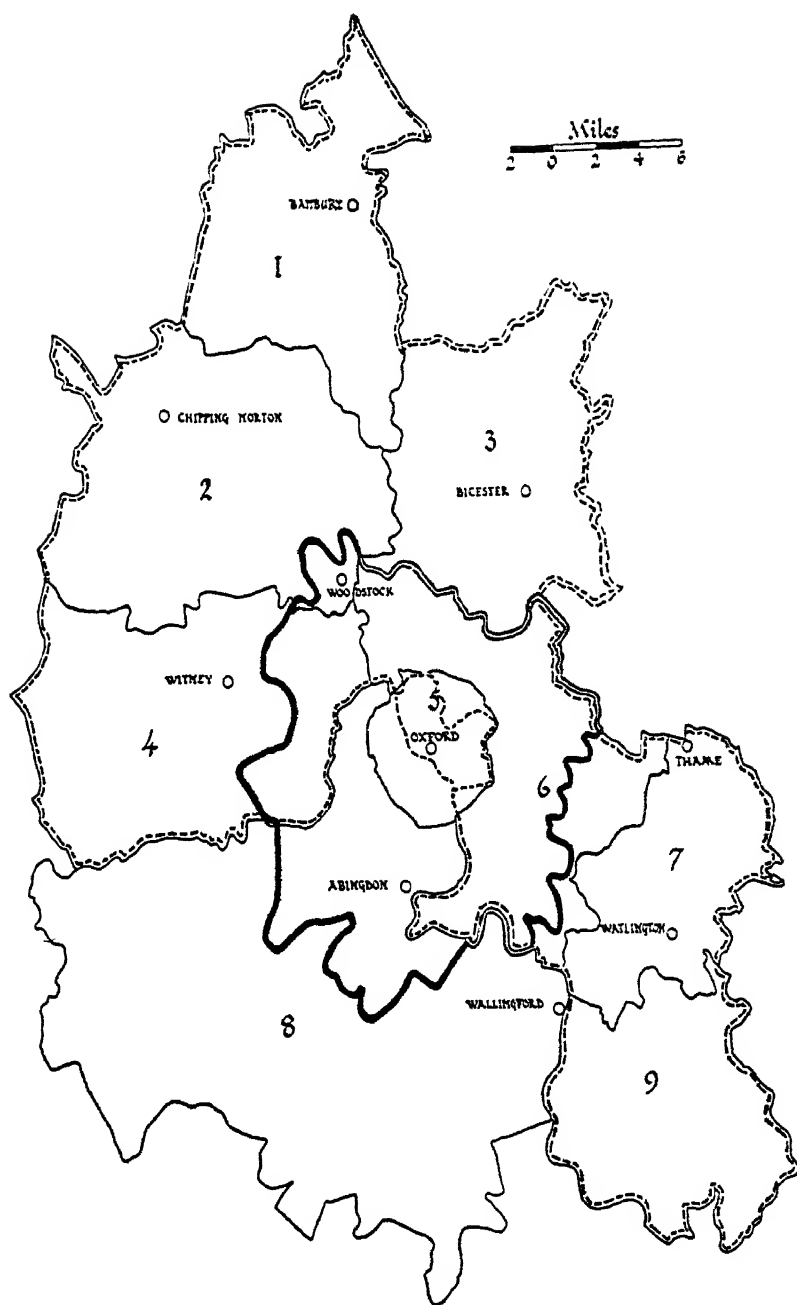


FIG. 48.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AREAS

KEY

1. Banbury Guardians Committee:
 - (a) No. 1 Relief District
 - (b) No. 2 Relief District
2. Chipping Norton Guardians Committee
3. Ploughley Guardians Committee
4. Witney Guardians Committee
5. Oxford County Borough Public Assistance Committee
6. Bullingdon Guardians Committee:
 - (a) No. 1 Relief District
 - (b) No. 2 Relief District
7. Abingdon Guardians Committee
8. Wantage Guardians Committee
 - (a) Faringdon Relief District
 - (b) Wantage Relief District
 - (c) Ilsley Relief District
9. Henley Guardians Committee

The divisions of Oxfordshire for the purpose of Guardians Committee Areas are identical with the boundaries of the rural districts. In the case of Banbury (including the municipal borough) and Bullingdon (including Thame U.D.) these areas are divided into two Relief Districts.

In Berkshire, Abingdon R.D. and Borough, Wallingford R.D. and Borough form one Guardians Committee Area. Faringdon R.D. and Wantage R.D. and U.D. form one Guardians Committee Area subdivided into three Relief Districts.

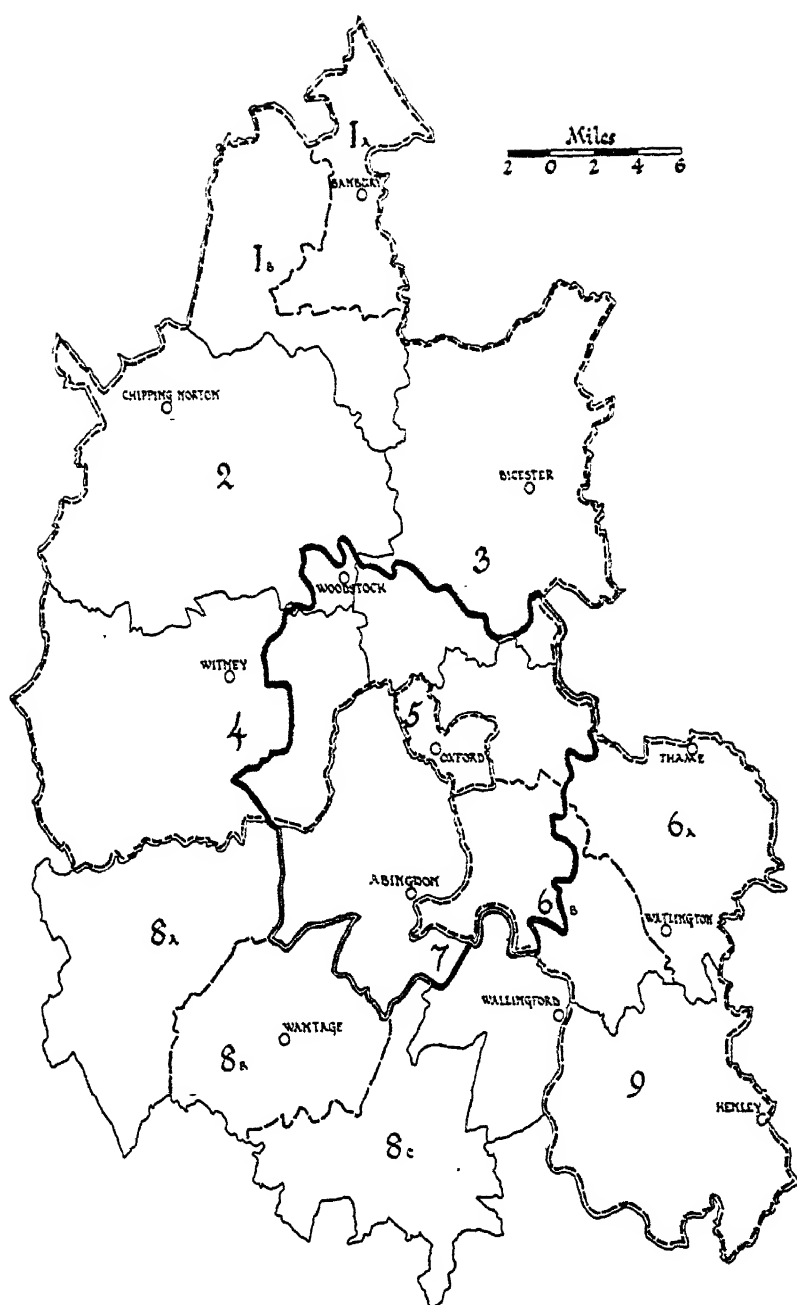


FIG. 49.

RATE ASSESSMENT AREAS

KEY

1. North Oxfordshire
2. North Central Oxfordshire
3. Oxford County Borough
4. Wantage
5. Abingdon
6. South Central Oxfordshire
7. South Oxfordshire

These areas are formed by the grouping of two or more county districts. One of the largest of them (the North Oxfordshire) comprises two rural districts and three municipal boroughs; the smallest (the South Oxfordshire) comprises one rural district and one municipal borough only.

In Berkshire, Abingdon R.D. and M.B. and Wallingford R.D. and M.B. are combined to form the Abingdon Assessment Area, and a similar arrangement combines Faringdon R.D. and Wantage R.D. and U.D.

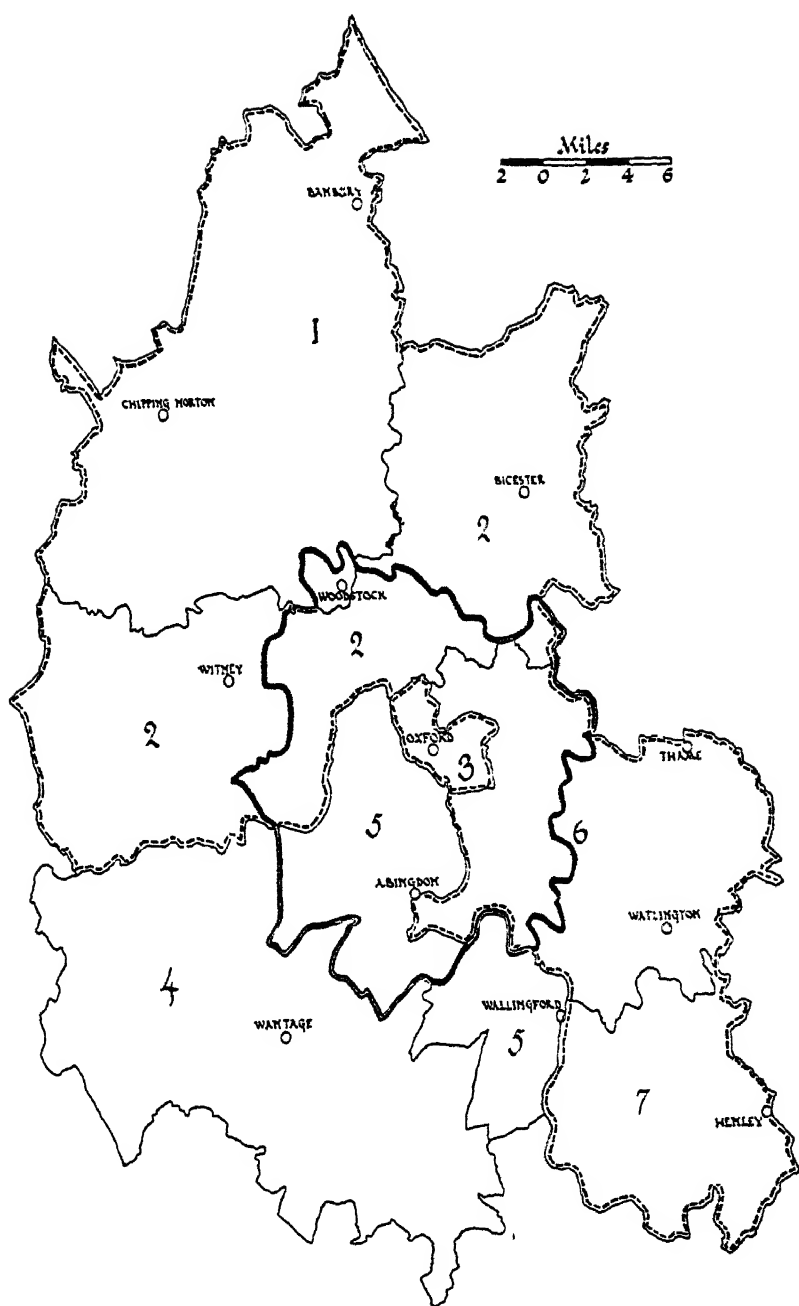


FIG. 50.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS REGISTRATION DISTRICTS

KEY

1. Banbury
 - (a) No. 1 Sub-district
 - (b) No. 2 Sub-district
2. Chipping Norton
3. Ploughley and Bullingdon
 - (a) Ploughley Sub-district
 - (b) Thame Sub-district
 - (c) Dorchester Sub-district
4. Witney
5. Oxford County Borough
6. Abingdon
7. Wantage
 - (a) Faringdon Sub-district
 - (b) Wantage Sub-district
 - (c) Ilsley Sub-district
8. Wallingford
9. Henley

These areas are based on the county districts. In Oxfordshire the rural district boundaries are followed throughout: Banbury (including Banbury M.B.) is divided into two sub-districts; Ploughley and Bullingdon R.D.s are combined in one, with three sub-districts, one of which corresponds with the Ploughley R.D. The other two are divisions of Bullingdon.

In Berkshire the Abingdon district (which includes Abingdon M.B.) is slightly smaller than the Abingdon R.D., three parishes being for this purpose included in the Wallingford district. Faringdon and Wantage R.D.s (including Wantage U.D.) form one district with three subdivisions.

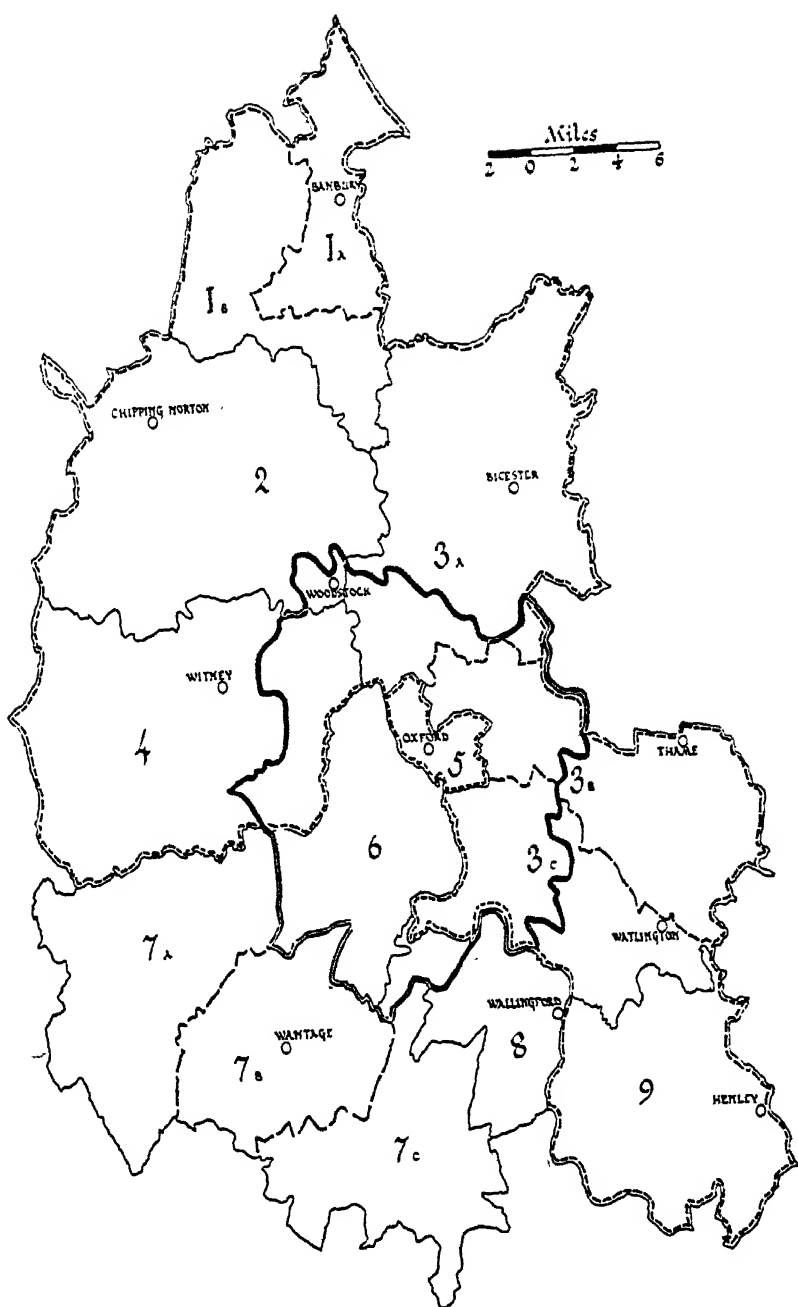


FIG. 51.

CORONER'S DISTRICTS

KEY

1. Banbury
2. Oxfordshire Northern
3. Oxfordshire Western
4. Oxfordshire Central
5. Oxford County Borough
6. Berkshire Western
7. Berkshire Northern
8. Oxfordshire Southern

Oxfordshire is divided into five areas for Coroner's Districts, i.e. Banbury Municipal Borough and four others of roughly equal size—Northern, Western, Central, and Southern. Oxford City is itself a Coroner's District.

Two of the Berkshire areas are also shown on the map. Abingdon Municipal Borough does not form a separate district, but is included in Berkshire Northern. The boundaries of the Coroner's Districts have little connexion with the boundaries of the rural districts.

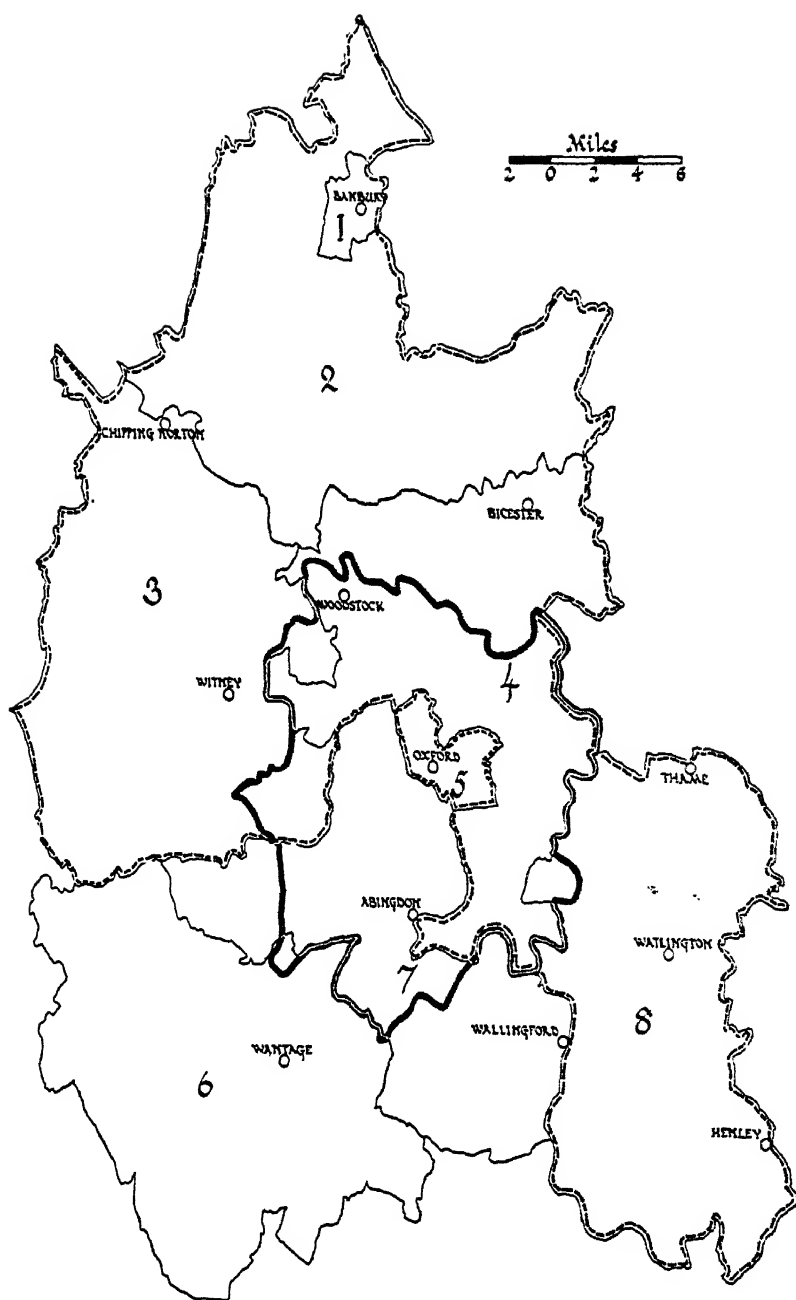


FIG. 52.

COUNTY COURT DISTRICTS

KEY

1. Banbury
2. Chipping Norton
3. Witney
4. Oxford
5. Thame
6. Wantage
7. Wallingford
8. Henley

All the areas marked and seven others are comprised in Circuit No. 36.

These districts almost entirely ignore the boundaries of the counties and the county districts. The Oxford County Court District stretches beyond Bicester on the north and includes a large part of Ploughley, Chipping Norton, and Bullingdon R.D.s, as well as the whole of Abingdon R.D. and two parishes in Faringdon R.D.

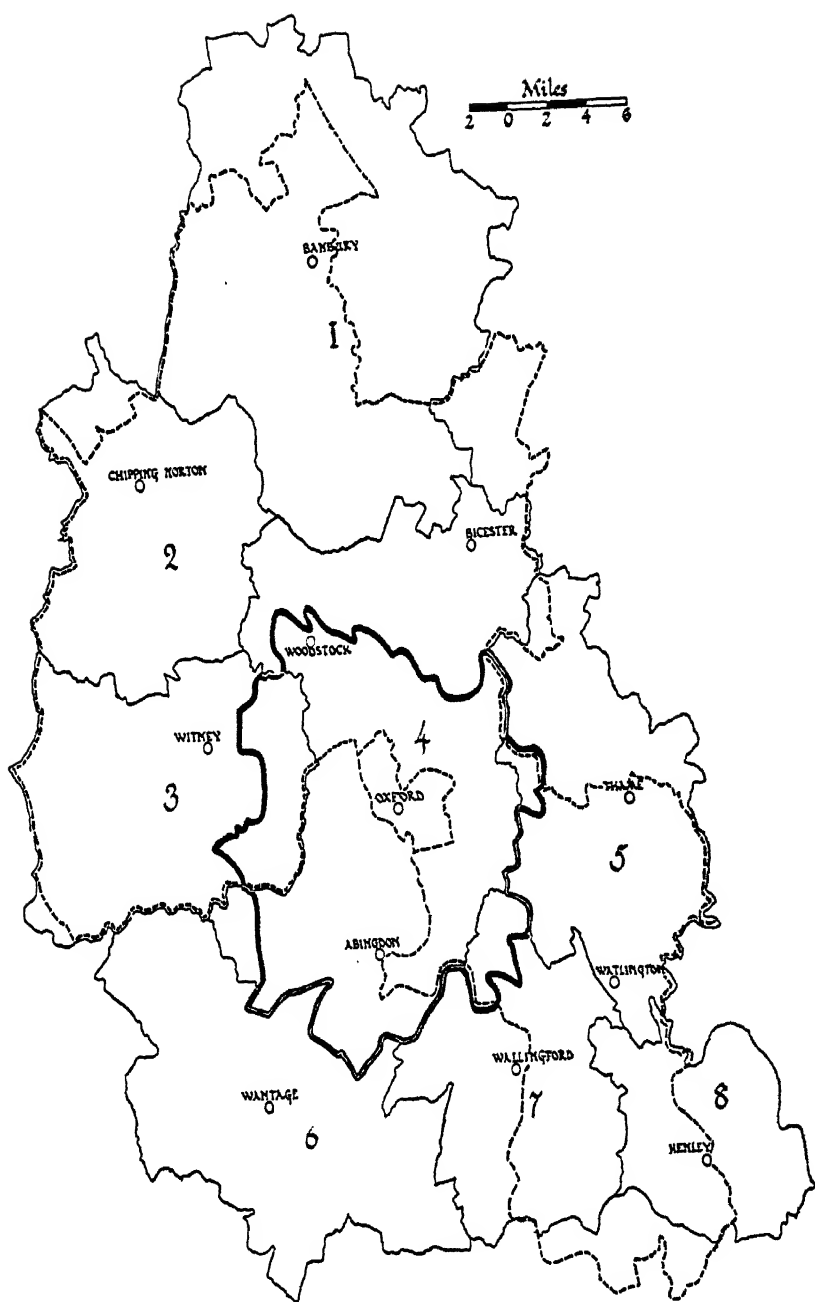


FIG. 53.

PETTY SESSIONAL DIVISIONS

KEY

1. Banbury and Bloxham
2. Banbury Borough
3. Chipping Norton
4. Chadlington
5. Wootton North
6. Ploughley
7. Wootton South
8. Bampton West
9. Bampton East
10. Faringdon
11. Abingdon
12. Abingdon Borough
13. Oxford City
14. Bullingdon
15. Watlington
16. Wantage
17. Wallingford
18. Henley
19. Wallingford Borough
20. Henley Borough

The divisions of the county for petty sessional purposes correspond in some cases with the boundaries of the rural districts. Ploughley Petty Sessional Division, for instance, corresponds with Ploughley R.D. with the omission of a number of parishes to the north of Oxford; similarly Henley Petty Sessional Division is identical with Henley R.D. with the omission of one parish.

Abingdon Petty Sessional Division is identical with Abingdon R.D. with the addition of two parishes from Wallingford R.D.

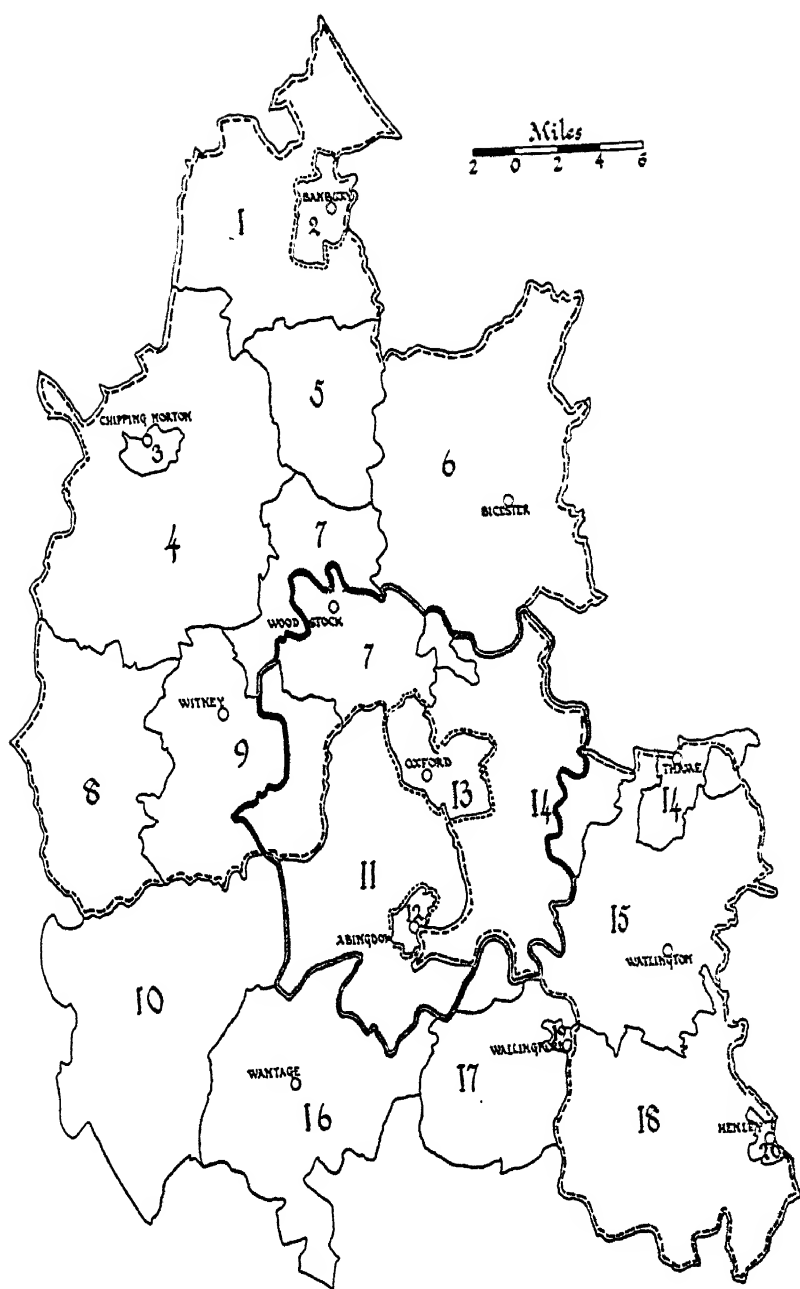


FIG. 54.

ELECTRICITY AREAS

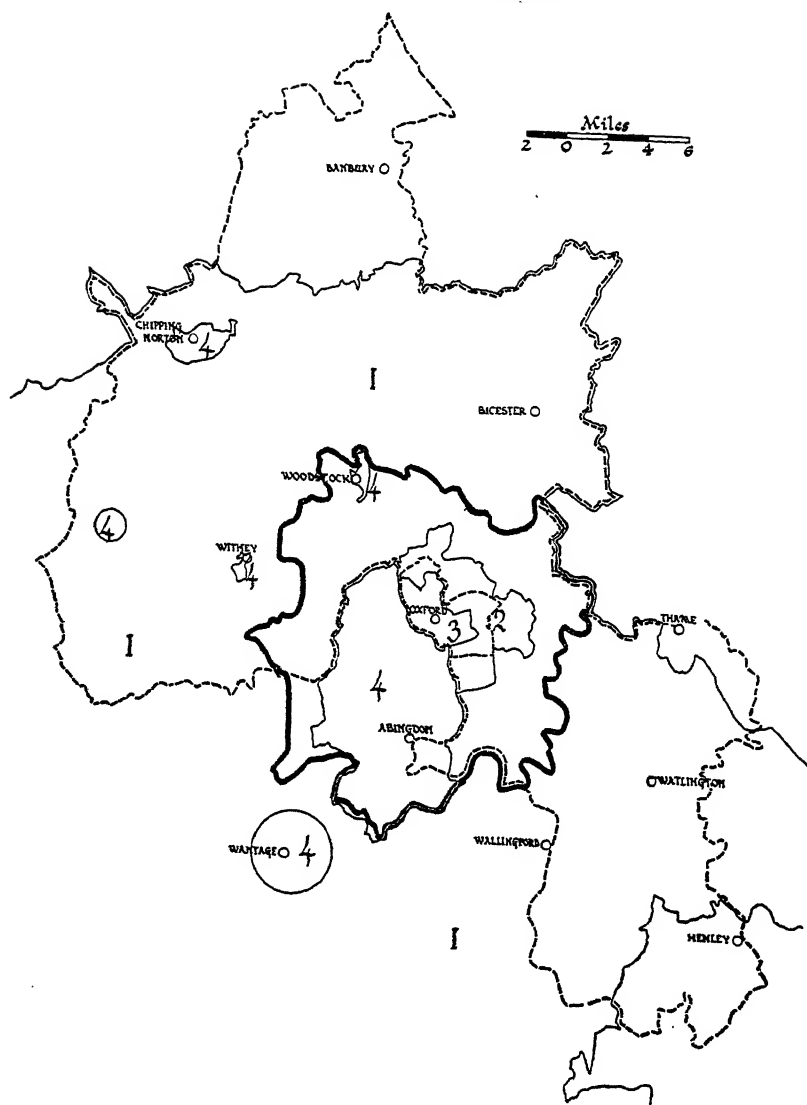


FIG. 55.

KEY

1. Wessex Company's Area
2. Oxford Electric Company's Area
3. Oxford Corporation's Area
4. Other Undertakers' Areas

GAS AREAS

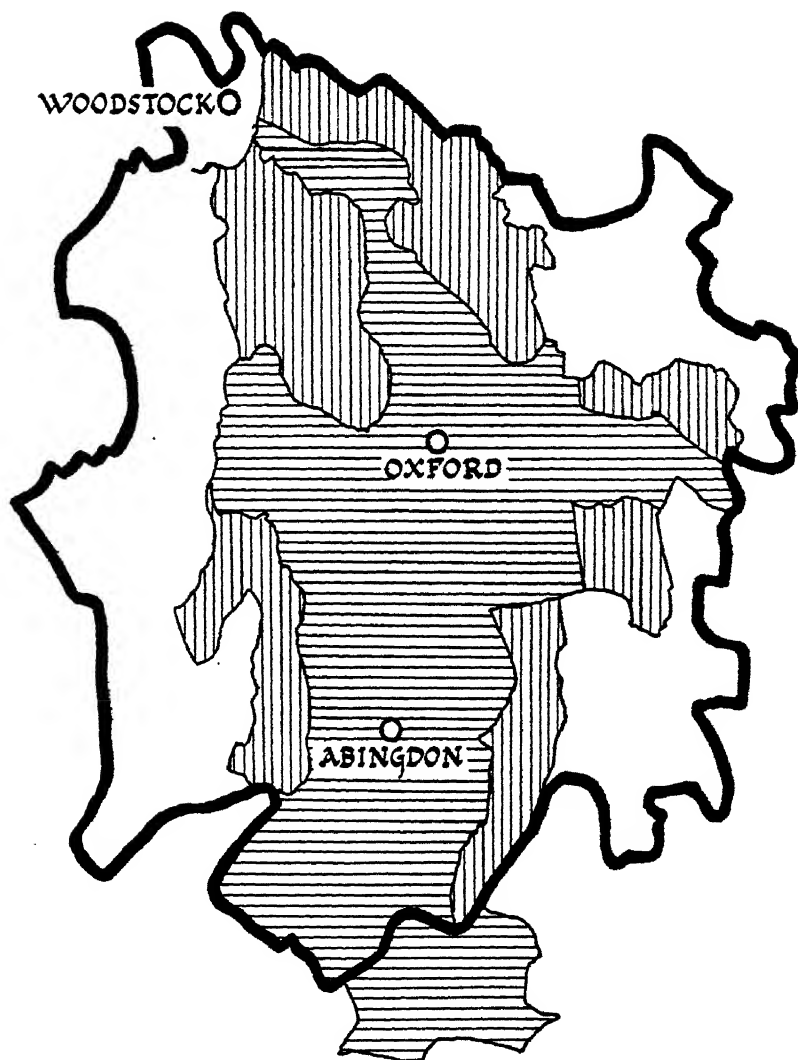


FIG. 56.

KEY

The hatching shows the whole of the statutory supply area of the Oxford and District Gas Company. The horizontal hatching indicates the area actually supplied with gas by the Company.

WATER AREAS

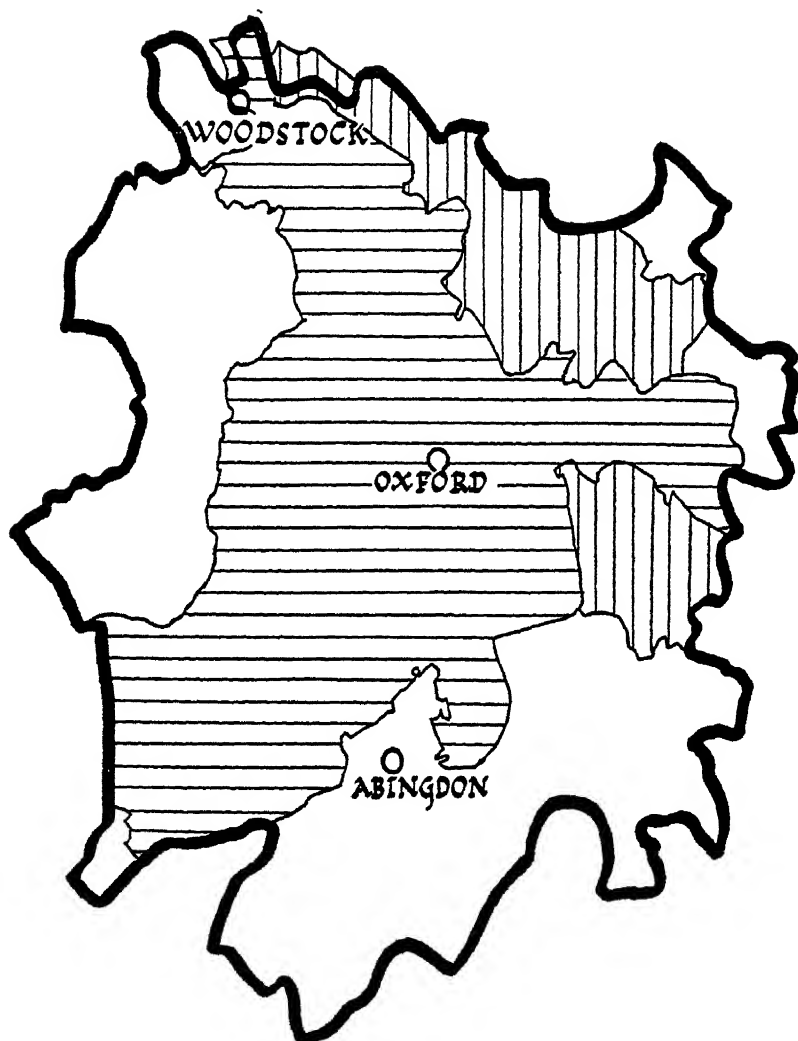


FIG. 57.

KEY

The hatching shows the whole of the area in which the Oxford City Waterworks have power to supply water. The horizontal hatching indicates the area in which water is actually supplied.

APPENDIX VIII
CRIMINAL STATISTICS

TABLE A I

Oxford City: indictable offences

Offence	1906				1916				1926				1936			
	Total offences	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Otherwise disposed of	Total offences	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Otherwise disposed of	Total offences	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Otherwise disposed of	Total offences	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Otherwise disposed of
Crimes of violence	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	10	5	5	..
Sexual crimes	8	4	3	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	15	5	5	..
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	23	1	1	..	7	..	..	..	40	3	..	3	43	10	10	..
Other crimes against property	227	116	96	20	166	69	45	24	175	59	24	35	453	96	86	10
Other offences	3	3	2	1	1	1	..	1	12	1	..	1	3	2	..	2
Total	266	128	104	24	176	72	46	26	227	63	24	39	524	118	106	12

TABLE A 2

Oxford City: non-indictable offences akin to indictable

Offence	1906				1916				1926				1936			
	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of
Crimes of violence	73	45	28	..	38	25	13	..	20	7	9	4	25	25	..	..
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	..	6	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other crimes against property	62	46	16	..	25	23	2	..	13	8	1	4	19	16	3	..
Other offences	10	6	4	..	2	1	1	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	145	97	48	..	71	49	21	1	35	16	10	9	45	42	3	..

TABLE A 3

Oxford City: non-indictable offences

Offence	1906				1916				1926				1936			
	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of	Persons pro- ceeded against	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise disposed of
Highway Acts:																
1. Owners, obstruction, and motor- cars	38	30	8	..	58	56	2	..	159	144	12	3	1,060	1,009	51	..
2. Bicycles	47	46	1	..	8	7	1	..	92	91	1	..	315	313	2	..
Drunkenness	158	151	7	..	55	49	6	..	49	31	2	16	57	47	1	9
Vagrancy:																
1. Begging	44	41	3	..	3	2	1	..	6	1	..	5	51	50	1	..
2. Sleeping out, gaming, and others.	47	39	8	..	6	3	3	..	9	6	..	3	2	1	1	..
Other offences	185	151	27	7	231	184	18	29	30	22	2	6	119	108	9	2
Total	519	458	54	7	361	301	31	29	345	295	17	33	1,604	1,528	65	11

TABLE A 4

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: indictable offences

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1936</i>
Crimes of violence	6	4	4	2
Sexual crimes	8	4	4	3
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	18	3	14	19
Other crimes against property	70	98	127	163
Other offences . . . . .	..	1	8	9
Total	102	110	157	196

TABLE A 5

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: Non-indictable offences akin to indictable

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1936</i>
Crimes of violence	45	20	25	16
Sexual crimes	1	1	5	3
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Other crimes against property	7	13	6	17
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Total	53	34	36	36

TABLE A 6

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: non-indictable offences

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1936</i>
Highway Acts*	27	25	47	41
Drunkenness	65	30	21	11
Vagrancy:				
1. Begging	9	1	1	..
2. Sleeping out, gaming, and others	47	7	2	3
Other offences	183	394	417	726
Total	331	457	488	781

* Not subdivided.

TABLE A 7

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: indictable offences

Offence	1906	1916	1926	1936
Crimes of violence	2	..	6	2
Sexual crimes	2	..	4	1
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	5	5	5	14
Other crimes against property	26	14	27	40
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Total	35	19	42	57

TABLE A 8

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: Non-indictable offences akin to indictable

Offence	1906	1916	1926	1936
Crimes of violence	27	7	8	5
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	2	..
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Other crimes against property	17	4	6	11
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Total	44	11	16	16

TABLE A 9

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: non-indictable offences

Offence	1906	1916	1926	1936
Highway Acts*	25	25	20	9
Drunkenness	38	27	5	11
Vagrancy:				
1. Begging	9	1	1	2
2. Sleeping out, gaming, and others	33	12	8	2
Other offences	118	138	170	92
Total	223	203	204	116

* Not subdivided.

TABLE B I

Oxford City: indictable crimes dealt with summarily, 1931 and 1936

NATURE OF CRIME AND MODE OF DISPOSAL

Adults (Male and Female)

Nature of crime	Mode of disposal					Total
	Prison		Fine	Probation	Other-wise disposed of*	
	Over 3 months	3 months or less				
Crimes of violence	1	1	..	..	1	3

Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	1	..	1	2	4
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering . .	..	..	..	..	2	2
	..	..	..	1	..	1
Other crimes against property .	15	9	3	17	12	56
	6	12	5	31	9	63
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..

Total	16	10	3	17	15	61
	6	13	5	33	11	68

Ages

	Under 14	14-16	17-21	22-30	Over 30	Total
Males . .	..	5	12	25	21	63
	7	16	10	29	17	79
Females .	1	..	..	3	..	4
	1	1	3	3	6	14

* 'Otherwise disposed of' includes cases dismissed.

TABLE B 2

*Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: indictable offences dealt with summarily,
1931 and 1936*

NATURE OF CRIME AND MODE OF DISPOSAL

Adults (Male and Female)

Nature of crime	Mode of disposal					Total
	Prison		Fine	Proba- tion	Other- wise disposed of*	
	Over 3 months	3 months or less				
Crimes of violence . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	2

Sexual crimes . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1

Crimes against property involving breaking and entering . .	..	..	..	4	..	4
	..	..	..	1	..	1
Other crimes against property .	4	5	4	12	2	27
	..	1	6	..	1	8
Other offences	3	3	8	2	1	17
	..	..	18	2	..	20
Total	7	8	14	18	4	51
	..	1	24	3	1	29

Ages

	<i>Under 14</i>	<i>14-16</i>	<i>17-21</i>	<i>22-30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>	<i>Total</i>
Males . .	4	7	16	16	18	61
	3	9	6	11	9	38
Females .	..	..	..	1	..	1
	..	..	2	..	1	3

* 'Otherwise disposed of' excludes cases dismissed and includes one Borstal (17-21) case from Bullington P.S.D.

TABLE B 3

*Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: indictable offences dealt with summarily,
1931 and 1936*

NATURE OF CRIME AND MODE OF DISPOSAL

Adults (Male and Female)

Nature of crime	Mode of disposal					Total
	Prison		Fine	Probation	Other- wise disposed of*	
	Over 3 months	3 months or less				
Crimes of violence	2	2
	1	1
Sexual crimes

Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	1	1

Other crimes against property .	..	3	5	1	9	18
	..	1	..	8	12	21
Other offences	1	..	..	..	1
	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	4	5	1	12	22
	..	2	..	8	13	23

Ages

	Under 14	14-16	17-21	22-30	Over 30	Total
Males . .	..	3	2	..	19	24
	4	12	7	4	11	38
Females .	..	..	..	..	1	1
	..	..	..	1	..	1

* 'Otherwise disposed of' includes cases dismissed and bound over in own recognizances.

TABLE C 1

Oxford City: first offenders and recidivists

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

Nature of crime	1931		1936	
	First offenders	Recidivists	First offenders	Recidivists
Crimes of violence	4	2	2	3
Sexual crimes	1	..	2	3
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	4	6	4	6
Other crimes against property	34	30	63	33
Other offences . . . . .	..	5	..	2
Total	43	43	71	47

TABLE C 2

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: first offenders and recidivists

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

Nature of crime	1931		1936	
	First offenders	Recidivists	First offenders	Recidivists
Crimes of violence	1	1	..	..
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	1	2	..
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	6	1	2	4
Other crimes against property	36	5	24	7
Other offences . . . . .	..	3	..	..
Total	43	11	28	11

TABLE C 3

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: first offenders and recidivists

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

Nature of crime	1931		1936	
	First offenders	Recidivists	First offenders	Recidivists
Crimes of violence	2	..	1	..
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Crimes against property involving breaking and entering	6	2	4	3
Other crimes against property	5	5	29	7
Other offences . . . . .	..	3	1	2
Total	13	10	35	12

TABLE D 1

Oxford City: motoring offences, 1931 and 1936

Offence	Convictions	Licence endorsed	Licence suspended	Amount of fines
				£ s. d.
Manslaughter . . . . .	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	..
Driving under influence of drink or drugs	10	..	9	150 0 0
	5	..	5	52 0 0
Driving dangerously	24	20	..	105 8 0
	8	1	7	52 0 0
Driving carelessly.	44	..	..	72 15 0
	83	48	6	121 2 6
Exceeding speed limit*.	45	..	..	74 10 0
	124	81	2	117 2 6
Obstruction.	139	..	..	242 0 0
	488	..	..	360 2 6
Non-insurance	35	..	8	33 5 0
	35	..	17	56 12 6
Other offences	142	..	..	140 15 0
	299	1	1	193 19 0
Total	439	20	17	818 13 0
	1,043	131	38	952 19 0

* The figure for 1931 refers to public service vehicles and goods vehicles only, as the speed limit for private motor-cars was abolished by the Road Traffic Act, 1930. In 1930, 317 persons were proceeded against for exceeding the speed limit which was then operative for all types of vehicle. The speed limit for private vehicles was re-introduced by the Oxford Roads Restriction Order, 1933, and the Road Traffic Act, 1934 (operative March 1935).

TABLE D 2

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: motoring offences, 1931 and 1936

Offence	Convictions	Licence endorsed	Licence suspended	Amount of fines
				£ s. d.
Driving under influence of drink or drugs	1	..	1	48 0 0
	1	..	1	10 0 0
Driving dangerously	25	8	..	91 11 6
	23	7	16	88 0 0
Driving carelessly.	50	3	1	90 5 4
	41	23	3	91 7 0
Exceeding speed limit	5	..	..	11 10 0
	92	31	..	182 10 0
Obstruction.	2	..	..	15 0
	26	3	..	19 15 0
Non-insurance	20	..	6	34 4 6
	24	2	11	30 15 0
Total	103	11	8	276 6 4
	207	66	31	422 7 0

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TABLE D 3

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: motoring offences, 1931 and 1936

Offence	Convictions	Licence endorsed	Licence suspended	Amount of fines
				£ s. d.
Driving under influence of drink or drugs	2	..	1	15 7 0
	1	..	1	11 18 6
Driving dangerously . . . . .	..	..	..	..
	1	..	1	11 1 0
Driving carelessly.	4	..	..	11 10 0
	10	4	2	31 15 0
Exceeding speed limit	32	..	..	45 1 8
	2	..	..	3 0 0
Obstruction.	3	..	..	1 4 0
	7	..	..	5 10 0
Non-insurance	10	..	..	5 1 0
	5	1	3	6 10 0
Total	51	..	1	78 3 8
	26	5	7	69 14 6

TABLE E I

Juvenile courts: offences, Oct. 1st, 1935 to Sept. 30th, 1936

Boys

Court	Population 1931	No. of persons charged	Average age	Nature of charge	No. of charges	Mode of disposal				
						Proba- tion	Fine	H.O. Approved School	Committal to fit person	Otherwise
Oxford City	80,539	18	14·1	Larceny	23	12	2	3	1	..
		3	14·4	Housebreaking	7	3	..	..	..	..
		1	10	Housebreaking with larceny	1	1	..	..	..	..
		1	16	Assault	1	..	..	..	..	Bound over.
		1	16	Keeping dog without licence	1	..	1	..	..	..
Ploughley, Bullingdon, Bampton E., Woot- ton S., P.S.D.	51,015	18	13·8	Larceny	19	3	..	4	..	3 dismissed; 5 dismissed on payment of costs; 3 birched.
		1	16	Stealing by trick	1	1	..	..	..	..
		3	16·2	Sexual offences	3	3	..	..	..	..
		3	16	Cycling without lights	3	..	3	..	..	..
		3	13·9	Damage to property	3	1	..	..	..	2 dismissed on payment of costs.
		3	15·4	Road Traffic Acts	3	..	2	..	..	1 dismissed on payment of costs.
		1	14·9	Killing homing pigeon	1	..	..	..	..	Dismissed.
		3	15·4	Playing football in street	3	..	3	..	..	..
		1	17	Taking car without leave	1	..	1	..	..	..
		2	15·6	Discharging fireworks	2	..	2	..	..	..

TABLE E I (cont.)

Court	Population 1931	No. of persons charged	Average age	Nature of charge	No. of charges	Mode of disposal				
						Proba- tion	Fine	H.O. Approved School	Committal to fit person	Otherwise
Abingdon Borough	7,829	5	13.2	Larceny	5	..	..	1	..	2 dismissed on restitution by parents; 2 bound over in £5 for 12 mths. 1 dismissed; 1 bound over in £5. ..
Abingdon P.S.D.	12,289	2	9.6	Damage to property	2	..	..	..	..	..
		2	14.6	Attempted burglary	2	..	..	2	..	..
Abingdon P.S.D.	12,289	2	14	Larceny	2	..	..	2	..	..
		3	10	Damage to property	3	..	..	..	..	Dismissed on payment of compensation by parents. ..
Total	151,672	76	14		86	24	14	12	1	5 dismissed; 14 dis- missed on conditions; 3 birched; 3 bound over.
Girls										
Oxford City	80,339	4	13.6	Larceny	5	2	..	1	1	..
Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.	51,015	1	16	Road Traffic Act	1	..	1	..	..	..
Abingdon Borough	7,829		No cases		..	..	..	..	..	..
Abingdon P.S.D.	12,289		No cases		..	..	..	..	..	..
Total		5	14		6	2	1	1	1	..
Grand Total	151,672	81	14		92	26	15	13	2	5 dismissed; 14 dis- missed on conditions; 3 birched; 3 bound over.

TABLE E 2

Juvenile courts: care and protection, Oct. 1st, 1935 to Sept. 30th, 1936

<i>Court</i>	<i>No. of persons brought</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Average age</i>	<i>Mode of disposal</i>		
				<i>Supervision and Probation Officer</i>	<i>H.O. Approved School</i>	<i>Committal to fit person</i> <i>Otherwise</i>
Oxford City	4	M	13·3	1	3	..
	10	F	9·4	1	6	3 no order.
Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.	No cases	..	..	..	..	..
Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.	No cases	..	..	..	..	..
Total	14	..	10·5	2	9	3 no order.

TABLE F I

Oxford City: first offenders, 1931 and 1936

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

*Age and nature of crime**Males*

<i>Nature of crime</i>	<i>Age groups</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 14</i>	<i>14-16</i>	<i>17-21</i>	<i>22-30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>	
Crimes of violence . . . . .	..	..	1	1	2	4
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	1
Crimes against property involving break- ing and entering . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	1
Other crimes against property . . .	1	3	..	3	..	4
Other offences	1	7	9	9	2	28
	4	11	11	19	7	52

Total	1	7	11	14	4	37
	5	14	11	20	8	58

Females

Crimes of violence . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	1
Other crimes against property . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1
	1	..	..	3	2	6
	1	1	3	2	4	11
Total	1	..	..	3	2	6
	1	1	3	3	5	13

TABLE F 2

Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.: first offenders, 1931 and 1936

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

*Age and nature of crime**Males*

<i>Nature of crime</i>	<i>Age groups</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 14</i>	<i>14-16</i>	<i>17-21</i>	<i>22-30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>	
Crimes of violence . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	1	1	..	2
Crimes against property involving break- ing and entering . . . . .	..	1	3	..	2	6
	..	1	1	..	..	2
Other crimes against property	6	2	6	11	9	34
	6	5	4	5	3	23
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..

Total	6	3	9	11	12	41
	6	6	6	6	3	27

Females

Other crimes against property . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	2
	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	2
	..	..	..	1	..	1

TABLE F 3

Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.: first offenders, 1931 and 1936

INDICTABLE OFFENCES

*Age and nature of crime**Males*

<i>Nature of crime</i>	<i>Age groups</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 14</i>	<i>14-16</i>	<i>17-21</i>	<i>22-30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>	
Crimes of violence . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1
	..	..	..	..	1	1
Sexual crimes . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..

Crimes against property involving break- ing and entering . . . . .	..	..	5	1	..	6
	1	3	..	..	..	4
Other crimes against property . . .	..	..	3	1	1	5
	3	9	6	5	5	28
Other offences . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..

Total . . . . .	..	..	8	2	2	12
	4	12	6	5	6	33

Females

Crimes of violence . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1

Other crimes against property . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	2	..	2
Total . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	1
	..	..	..	2	..	2

Appendix VIII

TABLE G
First offenders
INDICTABLE OFFENCES
Mode of disposal
Males

Mode of disposal	Oxford City		Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.		Abingdon Borough and P.S.D.	
	1931	1936	1931	1936	1931	1936
Prison:						
over 3 months.	2	..	6	..	1	..
3 months or less	1	5	4	1	..	..
Borstal or approved school	2	1	1	4	4	6
Fine	3	7	3	8	..	..
Probation	14	23	11	7	..	7
Otherwise	15	22	16	7	7	20
Total	37	58	41	27	12	33

Females

Prison:						
over 3 months.	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 months or less	..	1	..	..	..	..
Borstal or approved school	1	1	..	..	..	..
Fine	..	..	..	..	..	..
Probation	1	7	1	1	..	1
Otherwise	4	4	1	..	1	1
Total	6	13	2	1	1	2

TABLE H
Places of residence of first offenders, 1931 and 1936

Place of trial	Place of residence					
	Oxford City	Rest of Area	Other places in counties of		Else-where	Vagrant
			Berks.	Oxon.		
Oxford City	28	2	..	3	4	6
	56	4	..	1	6	4
Four Oxfordshire P.S.D.	1	6	1	12	10*	13
	1	4	1	14†	4	4
Abingdon Borough	..	3‡	..	..	..	3
	1	7‡	..	1	2	1
Abingdon P.S.D.	1	..	..	..	2	4
	11§	9	2	..	1	..

* Includes 3 army deserters.

‡ All in Abingdon Borough.

† One doubtful address.

§ See p. 274.

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